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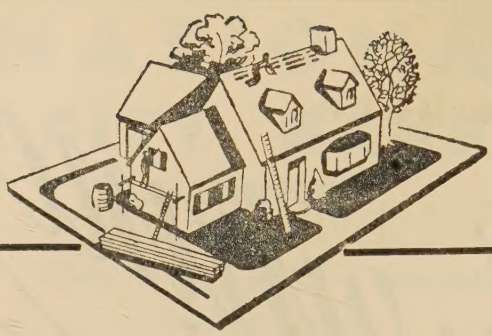

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MORE than fifty years ago Sir Horace Plunkett pointed out that " it is becoming increasingly difficult in many parts of the world to keep the people on the land, owing to the enormously improved industrial opportunities and enhanced social and intellectual advantages of urban life." He went on to say that " the main features of the depressing outlook of rural life in the United Kingdom are well known. The land steadily passes from under the plough and is given over to stock raising. As the kine increase, the men decay. In Ireland the rural exodus takes the shape, mainly, not of migration to Irish urban centres, but rather the uglier form of an emigration which not only depletes our population, but drains it of the very elements which can least be spared."[1] He asked, in the words of Bishop Berkely, " whether it would not be more reasonable to mend our state than complain of it, and how far this may be in our own power? "

I

PLUNKETT'S PROGRAMME

Combination—Association—Co-operation

Plunkett recognized that the small farmer stood a poor chance of being an economic producer, and even less chance of getting an adequate return for his labour so long as he had to struggle as an individual in a highly competitive world. His position was all the worse because other competitive interests were becoming more highly organized and were continually tending to combine in larger industrial units, larger Trades Unions and larger commercial enterprises. While recognizing land purchase, and even some land division as necessary, Plunkett regarded such developments as the opening of a new era. The land question had effectively " blocked the road to progress. Its removal cleared the way and marked the dawn of the practical." But he pointed out that " an economic holding was only part of an economic existence." He asked : " What hope of success had the owners if they had not the necessary skill, capital and habits of work." A more unpopular but more pertinent question could hardly be asked.

[1] *Ireland in the New Century*, by Horace Plunkett. The other passages from Plunkett quoted later in this article are from the same book.

His answer to this problem, which seems obvious now in theory and which has been thoroughly well proved in practice, was to secure strength by combination :

> We had to urge upon farmers that combination was just as necessary to their economic salvation as it was recognized to be by their own class, and by those engaged in other industries, elsewhere. They must combine, so we urged on them, for example, to buy their agricultural requirements at the cheapest rate and of the best quality in order to produce more efficiently and more economically ; they must combine to avail themselves of improved appliances beyond the reach of individual producers, whether it be by the erection of creameries, for which there was urgent need, or of cheese factories and jam factories which might come later ; or in ordinary farm operations, to secure the use of the latest agricultural machinery and the most suitable pure-bred stock ; they must combine—not to abolish middle profits in distribution, whether those of the carrying companies or those of the dealers in agricultural produce—but to keep those profits within reasonable limits, and to collect in bulk and regularise consignments so that they could be carried and marketed at a moderate cost ; they must combine, as we afterwards learned, for the purpose of creating, by mutual support, the credit required to bring in the fresh working capital which each new development of their industry would demand and justify. In short, whenever and wherever the individuals in a farming community could be brought to see that they might advantageously substitute associated for isolated production or distribution, they must be taught to form themselves into associations in order to reap the anticipated advantages.

Psychologists tell us of the multiplication of the energy and resolve of the individual when he is joined in a group with common sentiments and common aims. Plunkett saw the point and tried to apply it. Association with his fellows enhances the power and strengthens the moral qualities of the individual.

Self-Reliance and Self-Help

But no such combination of farmers, even for their own economic benefit, was, in his view, possible, until an entirely new attitude of mind could be developed towards agricultural problems. He found the Irish farmer possessed of a pathetic belief in the power of the government or of legislation to remove every difficulty and right every wrong. He recognized this extraordinary belief in political remedies for economic ills as an inevitable consequence of historical developments. He saw that force had deprived our ancestors of their land, and that they were victims of a series of laws " by which every industry that might have made the country prosperous was jealously repressed or ruthlessly destroyed."

The effects of such dependence on and belief in the omnipotent powers of government led inevitably to a faith in agitation as a means of securing progress. " The policy of giving trouble to the government was looked on as the one road to progress." In pointing out the evil effects

of this approach Plunkett was at one with Thomas Davis, the great apostle of nationalism, who said that " although agitation is one means of securing redress it leads to much disorganisation, great unhappiness, wounds on the soul of a country which sometimes are worse than the thinning of a people by war."

Plunkett, therefore, called for self-help and self-reliance; for self-help through mutual help, as a condition precedent to progress.

It was at the same time fifty to sixty years ago that Arthur Griffith was preaching the same doctrine of self-reliance, which was eventually to triumph in the political sphere in the twenty-six counties. And it was because Sinn Féin preached this doctrine that Plunkett, the unionist in politics, was ready to praise it and the Gaelic League. " I believe," he said, " in the new movements in Ireland because they seem to me to exert a stimulating influence on our moral fibre."

Here was the fundamental antagonism between him and the Irish parliamentary party. The success of the idea of self-help and self-reliance could not fail to show the people the falsity and absurdity of the idea that all good things could come only from the activities of the " party on the floor of the house." These people sought victories in debate, instead of victories over nature in the fields. Strongly worded and long-winded resolutions were their weapons rather than education, demonstration, or indeed action of any kind.

" The most important part of the work of regenerating Ireland must necessarily be done in Ireland by Irishmen." These words might have been Griffith's: actually they are Plunkett's. Griffith's doctrine that " no law and no series of laws can make a nation out of a people which distrusts itself " might have been Plunkett's. Naturally, such statements were anathema to the resolution-passers and gladiators of the Council Chamber. They would rather see a grievance unredressed than throw away a useful weapon of agitation.

Social Policy

From the first, Plunkett insisted that the attainment of material ends could not solve the problem of rural Ireland. He went further and proclaimed his belief that such successes were, in fact, impossible without corresponding social progress. He noted, for example, that wherever there were flourishing branches of the Gaelic League the people were more responsive to his economic doctrine. " We aim," he said, " to do very much the same work in the industrial sphere as the Gaelic League does in the intellectual sphere: namely, the rehabilitation of Ireland from within."

He wished to impress on each individual the importance of his own personal contribution to national achievement. He recognized that appeals limited only to self-interest were not only morally and socially damaging, but were unlikelv to produce permanent effects.[1]

Plunkett's realization of the necessity for an appeal to the spirit as well as to the pocket has aroused scorn since his death, as well as abuse during his lifetime. But some of those who denounce appeals of Irish leaders to spiritual and national motives, as irrelevant to an economic problem or any problem of national organization, will admit the merits as well as the success of a more recent call to self-preservation in England with a promise only of " blood and sweat and tears."

He saw also that the flight from the land was not solely of economic origin. What he described as the " lotus-eating occupation of opening and shutting gates " on a grazing farm has a profound influence on character and on intelligence. It destroys the social virtues which make rural life attractive. It encourages selfish individualism, as well as loneliness.[2]

He therefore put in the forefront of his programme the improvement of rural homes, making them more attractive places in which to live ; the creation of real leisure for the rural people by more regular and more systematic work with better implements and the fostering of those social activities which are truly rural in character and national in tradition. While he does not seem to have made contact with, or refer in his writings to, the G.A.A., the spirit of its founders and their aims and hopes accorded perfectly with his own and linked up with those of the Gaelic League, then in the first flush of its youthful enthusiasm.

What a different approach this is from that so common to-day ! While wealthy city-people seek eagerly for the sports and recreations possible only in the countryside, our young people in the country are taught that the brightening of rural life means an attempt to transplant to the countryside the commercialized amusements of the cities. They are not taught that the best and most satisfying recreations are those in which we find self-expression, those calling for active participation.

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1 One of the worst features of Irish life to-day, and one of the greatest obstacles to progress, is the re-emergence since the Civil War of the purely materialistic and selfish and sectional approach to national problems, an attitude which seemed to have been destroyed in the national resurgence from 1916 to 1921.

2 In *Ireland and the New Century,* Plunkett wrote: " What the Irishman is really attached to in Ireland is not a home but a social order. The pleasant amenities, the courtesies, the leisureliness, the associations of religion, and the familiar faces of the neighbours, whose ways and minds are like his and very unlike those of any other people; these are the things to which he clings in Ireland and which he remembers in exile."

But he found, fifty years ago, that " the national customs, culture and recreations which have made the country such a pleasant place to live in have almost disappeared and with them one of the strongest ties which bind people to the country of their birth."

Education

Plunkett not only saw the vital part which education must play in the economic and social revival of rural Ireland, but he propounded theories which, after a lapse of fifty years, are now being rediscovered and applied in many countries. Their application in Ireland may still be difficult, but I feel sure that if he were still alive, he would have found joy and solace in recent speeches of Mr. Moylan, the Minister for Education, dealing with the part which Vocational Schools can play in rural Ireland.

He condemned the then system of education because it ignored " the history, literature, arts and traditions of the people." He described it as a stimulus to emigration. It turned young minds to the city and did nothing to introduce to them the pleasures and interests of the countryside, its wealth of material for thought, for action, for experiment and for investigation. The history and traditions of our people are now taught in the schools, but otherwise we have moved backwards rather than forward. When Plunkett complained of the urban bias of education of country children, rural science at least was on the programme. It has since been dropped.

Long after he had propounded it, one of Plunkett's ideas for rural education burst like an atomic bomb in America. It is simple, like most great ideas, and it is just this : that the Agricultural Instructor cannot hope to convey much information or advice by going round to farmers, as individuals. He should not only have a group to talk to and discuss problems with, but should rely on the group to stimulate its members' curiosity and zeal, to help by getting them to teach one another and by undertaking, as a group, those experiments and demonstrations which in Ireland are more or less private affairs between one farmer and the Instructor. It is ironical that we should be rediscovering from America the need for an organization of farmers to seek knowledge, to discuss new ideas and apply them, to experiment and demonstrate. We have had this idea of Plunkett's put forward as one of the best things America can teach us. We have even rediscovered in America Plunkett's maxim of self-help. They have adopted the method he proposed of making it a condition of obtaining help from experts, that a group of farmers must first organize to seek and receive such education and experiment, and pay at least part of its cost. This is to-day regarded as a vital feature of the American system of agricultural education.

State Aid

As in education so in all other forms of State Aid, it was a principle of Plunkett's that subsidy should not be given until voluntary effort

had first been set in motion. In this he was, of course, in direct conflict with the ideas and methods of the Irish Party and was in line with the self-reliant doctrine of Sinn Féin. With the split in Sinn Féin and the Civil War, the philosophy of " The Party," which seemed in 1920 to have been eliminated for good from Irish life, crept back again, and we have once more the pathetic belief in the power of the State to help a producer in spite of himself, and faith in the resolution and in personal abuse as weapons of progress.

It is probable that there is even less acceptance to-day than in Plunkett's day of his objection to the multiplication of schemes " which, however well intentioned, are but devices for enabling individuals to devolve their responsibilities on the community or the Government."

The Reception of the Programme

In Ireland this programme has been the subject of an immense amount of abuse mostly founded on ignorance of its real terms and essential conditions, and on the justifiable hostility aroused by some of Plunkett's remarks on the Catholic Church and on national aspirations.

Except for two brief periods, one shortly after the first successes in co-operation, the other when the spirit of Sinn Féin was developing a new idealism and sense of patriotism in the people, the rural community has displayed almost complete apathy, if not hostility. " The public opinion on which we sought to make an impression," says Plunkett, " allowed no question to be discussed on its merits." But his programme fired the imagination and aroused the enthusiasm of great men as unlike as President Theodore Roosevelt, Father Finlay and George Russell (Æ). It has moved men to action in England, India, South Africa, America, China, Cyprus, the West Indies, Germany and France, but it has been sadly neglected in this country for which it was specifically designed and for which its author worked with a devotion described by Erskine Childers as " heroic."

Plunkett appears to have hoped that the earliest co-operative success in Ireland would have been in the field of rural credit. Instead, by a combination of fortuitous circumstances, the movement took root in the co-operative creamery, a manufacturing and trading organization. It has made no worthwhile contribution towards increasing the total or reducing the cost of agricultural production, and it has failed in the field of rural credit. That there are some few exceptional creamery societies, whose influence is being felt in the development of better farming methods and the reduction of the cost of some of the farmers' raw materials, does not, I think, make these generalizations unjustifiable.

Why No Greater Success?

Despite all his insistence that the problem of rural Ireland was fundamentally a human problem, Plunkett's co-operative societies tended rapidly to become merely institutions for trading and making butter. They had no contribution to make to the social life of their members, little, if any, influence upon their characters, and none whatever on their spiritual lives. He saw, therefore, that only one part of the programme was being applied, and it seems that he realized his inability to move the Irish mind to action. Was it the case that he was, in his own words, " unable to see its point of view?"

His book, *Ireland in the New Century,* which aroused a storm of criticism and seriously damaged his influence for good, is, above all, a fearless and patently honest book. He certainly shows in it that moral courage, the lack of which he deplored in others. In reply to his critics he said : " I have placed my countrymen neither in the dock nor on a pedestal nor on the stage. My offence has been more grave. I have criticised them." But Kickham said far more offensive things about the large farmers and he is a national hero. Davis criticized freely and so did Griffith. Their criticisms did arouse enmity and opposition, but not to the extent that Plunkett's did. The difference lies, I suggest, in the fact that the three former understood better the minds of their countrymen.

I know nothing of the religious beliefs of Plunkett, but his book indicates an uncertainty of religious faith. In his criticisms of the Catholic Church in Ireland, Plunkett betrays a lack of knowledge of it which does not entitle him to pass judgment, and his conclusions are not in fact justifiable. He reveals also contradictions in his thought because the main criticism he makes is that the spiritual life of the Catholic leads him to fix his attention on the next world and to ignore the economic problems of this. But he contradicts himself here because he points out many times that unless the spirit be moved, action is impossible, and he condemns, as hopeless, a purely materialistic approach to the problems of rural Ireland.

On the subject of nationality, Plunkett has also written many comments which cancel one another out or are inconsistent. He said that Anglo-Irish history is for Englishmen to remember and for Irishmen to forget, thus doing violence to national sentiment and flatly contradicting his criticism of our educational system because of its failure to teach Irish history. He said that economic emancipation and progress would lessen, if not eliminate, the demand for Home Rule, thereby betraying his lack of understanding of the Irish mind and of the national aspirations, but he eventually advocated a degree of self-government for Ireland beside which the Home Rule Bill of those who accused him of wanting to kill

Home Rule by kindness was but a sham independence. Those remarks which could be used to inflame the public mind against him were repeated by his enemies, usually out of their context, and those in which he stated an opposite point of view or which qualified and explained them were ignored or suppressed.

Whether the obstinacy which enabled him to pursue his course unselfishly despite indifferent health through storms of abuse and misrepresentation, through the deadening apathy of the countryside, through the web of intrigue woven by selfish little men, was also responsible for his attempting to stand over the contradictions and misjudgments of his book, I do not know. But I suspect that he had the defects of those heroic qualities which have made him a world figure. In spite of his defects, he has left us an economic and social programme superior to communism and capitalism, and the only workable alternative to these. Indeed, it seems to be the only means whereby the right to property in land can be preserved in the world of to-day without violence to the other rights of man.

II

PROGRAMME FOR TO-DAY

A study of Plunkett's programme should convince any unprejudiced person of his extraordinary foresight and soundness of judgment when he dealt with economic questions. But it is necessary to relate it to the vastly changed conditions of to-day if it is to be applied effectively to solve the problems which have remained chronic with us for fifty years. It is also, I suggest, necessary to expand it in some important particulars: namely, to provide for mechanization, to provide for a farming programme which will make the fullest use of the soil, labour, capital and geographical position of the land owned by members of local co-operatives. It is also necessary to make better provision for the farmers' sons and daughters living at home.

The Age of Specialization

As our knowledge of the soil, of plant and animal life increases, as new implements become available and relatively new crops are cultivated, there is an increasing amount of knowledge and an increasing number of skills required for successful farming. There are still a few large estates having such specialization. In them there is work enough for a full-time dairyman, a shepherd, one or more ploughmen, carters, a man who devotes all his time to the pigs, a specialist gardener with assistants, a carpenter, a smith, and so on. These men are employees, hired men.

These large estates exemplify two things: the specialization of agricultural work on an economic farm-unit which provides full-time

occupation for each specialist, and the capital resources which, when used properly, permit experimentation, long-term investment, and, through these things, progress.

In England, where the landlord tradition is on the whole good instead of evil, and where it was generally the case that the great landowners were at least as concerned about their duties as about their rights, the large farm-unit has survived. It has made notable contributions to the advancement of agriculture. For the greatest revolution in agricultural history, the introduction of the Norfolk rotation, we must thank the great English landowners. To them is also due most of the improvement in the principal breeds of livestock. Until death duties and other taxation and the competition of the new aristocracy of industry and politics eliminated them, they carried forward at their own expense what progress there was in English farming. The smaller farmer in Ireland had not the capital, even when he had the knowledge, to take any such forward step involving risk.

The average Irish farmer is, in fact, a very small farmer. He is and has to be, under present conditions, a jack-of-all-trades, unless he is purely and simply a small grazier. Apart from the attractiveness which some men find in a relatively idle time, grazing has this to be said for it: that the grazier has only one job to master, and there is after all much personal satisfaction in being master of one's job no matter how lowly or narrow the scope may be. There is this, also, that by long tradition we are good cattle-men. From early times the Irish were more attracted to cattle than to raising crops.

But nothing is more evident than the fact that there is no room for 3,000,000 people in a twenty-six county Ireland devoted to grazing unless we are willing to revert to the state of semi-starvation and misery and degradation from which we have worked our way up.

Specialization Through Co-operation

The small farmer, therefore, must produce more wealth per acre than the grazier, and in doing so he faces two really big problems. He must first face the simple facts that in the modern world work can usually be done better and almost always done more cheaply by machinery than by hand, and that for the full and economic use of modern machinery a farm unit of less than 1,000 acres may be too small.

He must, if he is to stand alone, master the increasingly complex profession of farming in all its aspects. This is more than we ask our University graduates in Agriculture to do. Although we have what, in the circumstances, is an extraordinarily big number of splendid farmers who have mastered their job by the devotion to their land of a life of constant toil and by a ceaseless search for knowledge, we should face the simple fact that there are too many skills to be mastered on the mixed

farm by one man. We have lost our village craftsmen, our tailors, many of our smiths, carpenters and masons, not only because industrial production has moved from the middle ages into the twentieth century, but because the change from tillage to grass, and the consequent fall in rural population, did away with the demand for their services. We have lost our specialized farm-workers because the system of big estates, which produced and supported them, has gone down in the ruin it brought on itself and well deserved.

Our agriculture, despite all the real progress which is being made, is slipping fast behind that of other countries, not only in research, but in the application of modern labour-saving devices and the application of the most recent discoveries of science. In the matter of skill it has gone backward rather than forward. The standard of knowledge and skill of the agricultural labourer of to-day is a common cause of complaint by farmers, but is the small farmer himself any better? Can he possibly be at once an expert ploughman, stockman, dairyman, pig-feeder, and at the same time learn new skills such as making silage and the old knowledge of how best to handle a soil in cultivation? Can he be his own implement-repairer, his own carpenter, his own tractor-mechanic, his own amateur electrician? Can he learn to recognize all the diseases and deficiences in plants and animals which science is every day discovering? Can he master the new techniques of spraying, dusting and seed treatment? He does not try to learn all that would be useful to him about poultry and which might make the difference between a profit and a loss. He leaves that to his unfortunate wife who has already more to do and less facilities for doing it than the wife of the townsman on the dole. Can he at the same time be an expert buyer and an expert seller of his produce? Can he do all those jobs and have any time left for the amenities of life? Even if he makes time to till a vegetable garden, can he find time really to learn gardening as well? If he plants an orchard, can he add skill in pruning, spraying and harvesting fruit to all his other trades? Do these questions really require an answer? Each one of a group of neighbours working in full co-operation could specialize and make his expert knowledge available to the whole group. He would, in return, have the special skill of his neighbours applied to other tasks on his own farm, which he often does now in an indifferent way.

Mechanical Slaves

In no aspect of farming is there greater need for specialization than in the operation of tractors and tractor implements. Through the development of modern machinery the farmer who invests in some tractors provides himself with a labour-force of mechanical slaves. Not only does the tractor provide power equal to that of very many horses, but, unlike

men and animals, it does not tire. It can work all day, every day, and into the night if needed. It enables man to do more work, to do better work, to do work more quickly, and so get each job done at the best time. In this way it not only saves labour, but it makes possible increased yields.

It is unfortunately true that many of our farmers cannot at present afford a tractor of their own. But with better farming-practice, with more tillage, more output per acre and the higher income which this will give, most Irish farmers could become tractor owners. Many people have motor cars who can hardly afford them. Just as the less wealthy motorists buy second-hand cars, so will the less wealthy farmers be able to buy second-hand tractors as soon as a better standard of farming increases the number of new tractors bought and leads to the development of a bigger second-hand market.

Is there Enough Work for a Tractor?

This, of course, is a vitally important question. It could be answered by saying that if there is enough work for two horses, the same work could be done at less cost by a tractor. But such an answer would be unsatisfactory, because on very many farms now keeping two horses there is not enough work to pay for their keep. Replacing them by a tractor would perhaps be justifiable in itself on the basis of comparative costs, but something more is necessary. The cost of operating a tractor and the justification for its first cost depend upon the extent to which it is utilized. The land which formerly went to provide hay and grazing for the horses would become available, and this much extra tillage could be done. Perhaps the proportion of tillage on the farm would even still be too small for the highest income and the best rotation. We have had in Ireland no studies of the minimum acreage of crops which will justify the employment of a tractor, but if every two-horse farmer had a tractor instead and cultivated his grass as a crop in a regular rotation, and put to crop-production the land not required to feed the horses, he could hardly fail to get work done more cheaply.

If there is not, even after the intensification of production, enough work on one farm for a tractor, the most sensible approach would appear to be to get extra work for it on other farms. These would be not only the very small farms without any tractor, but also the larger farms having more than enough work for one but not sufficient work for two machines. The essential thing is to have a farming programme providing an acreage of crops related to the tractor-power as well as the man-power available. If the tractor is to be used to full capacity so as to get its operation-costs down to the lowest possible figure, there is need for a co-ordinated cropping plan covering a number of neighbouring farms and providing full work for the tractors on each of them.

The tractor will save man-hours, but the saving is of no cash value on the farm unless the hours so saved are put to other productive work. The time saved by quicker work, and by not having to care for horses, might enable the farmer to look after a proper flock of poultry or more cows, which could be kept because of the produce of extra tillage, or to do tractor-work for neighbours in exchange for hand-work, such as beet singling done by them, or to tackle some permanent improvements such as land reclamation, drainage, building more or better outhouses, removing unnecessary fences, planting shelter-belts, building a silo or even taking up some home industry such as making or mending things for the neighbours, quarrying stones, drawing gravel, making cement blocks, sawing timber with the tractor. A study of farm buildings may show a lot of walking which could be avoided by a re-arrangement of them. On most Irish farms the outlay of time and material in bettering the layout of farm buildings would easily be recovered by savings in labour and material.

A Full Set of Tools for a Team

A bad feature of much of the mechanization that has taken place so far in Ireland is that full use is not being made of tractors, because full sets of the implements and tools are not obtained. Most farmers cannot afford to buy them all. There is, in fact, not enough work on the average Irish farm for all the implements offered and, without a full set of tools, full value cannot be got from the tractors.

A way out of this difficulty should be possible. One of our best traditions in the Irish countryside is that of mutual help between neighbours. We exchange labour at threshings. In many places there is still the " comhar " or " meitheal " for turf-cutting and hay-making. This mutual help is good in many ways. It promotes a spirit of co-operation and good neighbourliness. It brings the boys and, sometimes both boys and girls, together in a spirit of work. There is a comparison of skill and strength and a tendency to set a good standard of workmanship. The good worker, the skilled man at any branch of the work in hand, has the most satisfying reward of his skill in the respect of the neighbours and their efforts to emulate him. Matt the Thresher, in *Knocknagow*, owes his fame and the hero-worship of his neighbours as much to his skill at farm tasks as to his ability to throw a hammer " for the honour of the little village." The work in groups is more cheerful. The company is more pleasant than solitary work. Where there is plenty of help, whatever job is being done will be done more quickly and probably better. At any rate, it will be easier to make the most of weather conditions. It would be a good thing to foster this tradition and extend its practice or revive it where it has died.

Since one tractor can be at work with only one implement at any given time, a farmer with a full set of implements must have all but one idle unless his farm is big enough to require two or more tractors. But if each one of a group of neighbours has one or two or three special implements so as to make up the complete set between them, there are great possibilities of getting the maximum benefits from mechanization. Suppose, for example, that A.B.C.D.E. and F. are small farmers, each having tractors of similar type, say, Ford or Ferguson, and that G and H are neighbouring bigger farmers, who need bigger tractors, and that I and J are very small farmers who have not enough work for even the lightest tractor. Let " A " buy a rotavator, " B " a manure loader, " C " a dung spreader, " D " a roller, " E " a tipping trailer, " F " an artificial manure distributor, etc. Let " G " and " H " both get three-furrow ploughs, and, if it is a district requiring their use, a mole drainer, a hedge cutter, a reaper and binder and a combine drill. Let one or other of the small men have a seeding unit for sowing roots, a multi-row horse hoe, a spraying outfit and a grass seed barrow. The other implements and tools, including a hammer-mill and power-saw, could be distributed in the same way so as to have a full set of implements within the group and to have two of any implement which is in especially great demand or is needed for, say, twice as many hours' work as the average.

Let us suppose that the corn is cut on all farms by a combine belonging to one of the big men or his worker using the big man's tractor and machine. He would be followed in each field by " A " with his rotavator and his own tractor. When the stubble weeds have germinated and it is time to spread dung and do the deep ploughing, a team would get together and do each farm in turn. " B " would be there with his dung-loader to fill " C's " dung-spreader. (Two dung-spreaders might be justified in the group). " A " would follow the dung-spreader with his rotavator to mix the dung and the surface weed-growth with the soil. Later would come one or both of the big men with their three-furrow ploughs. The whole team would do each farm in turn. Each man would keep an account of the number of hours he worked for each of his neighbours and of the number of hours each neighbour worked for him. At predetermined intervals the balance would be made up and a settlement made in cash or in kind for any work done for which there was not an equivalent return. There should be an agreed hourly rate or piece-rate for the tractors and implements and for hand work done by the small men who have no tractors. In many cases the settlement could in part be in potatoes or milk or barley or oats or beet pulp or poultry or eggs or apples or calves or bonhams or bacon at the current market price or at agreed rates. Any such plan might provide for arbitration by the group as a whole in the event of dispute.

While this proposal may appear to some to be visionary or impractical because of the difficulty of getting a group of neighbours to work together in such close co-operation, those who live in or have lived in districts in which the " comhar " is still a feature of spring and harvest work will be more ready to recognize its possibilities.

The practical difficulties of buying the necessary tractors and implements can be got over with the facilities available if each farmer concerned has the credit which is the due of every man who is already working his land to the best of his ability and is paying his way.

Rural Credit

Here is where Plunkett's Rural Credit Societies would come in. The need for them is more generally recognized now than in his day. Many costly machines are now, in fact, bought and owned in common by three or four neighbours, but this arrangement is unsatisfactory in practice. The machine passes from one part-owner to another and responsibility for maintenance tends to be evaded, and responsibility for damage is difficult to fix and a fruitful cause of discord. Individual ownership will get more out of the machine Instead of buying a share in a machine it is far wiser to lend one's money to a Credit Society. This money will not only earn interest for the lender, but help to secure for him and his neighbours the equipment they need.

It would be much simpler and safer for the Agricultural Credit Corporation to give loans to such societies than to individual farmers and the costs of investigation and administration would be greatly reduced. Most of the legal difficulties which delay or prevent the granting of loans to farmers would be eliminated.

The Problem of the Farmer's Sons and Daughters

A fundamental problem in rural Ireland is the inability of farmers' sons and daughters who are working on the family farm to get married and to establish a home of their own at a reasonably early age. The farmer usually holds the reins and the purse so long that a sense of frustration develops in the son or the vigour and enterprise and enthusiasm of youth have passed before he can farm on his own account. The Taoiseach suggested many years ago that each farm needed a dower-house to which the old couple could retire and allow the next generation to take over the farm. Such a solution depends upon the level of production being raised, as it can be raised, to the level of income per acre attained in other countries, having in many instances lower prices per unit of produce. It depends also upon the farmer's son and daughter being paid a good wage for their work on the family farm and upon their developing the habits of thrift and investment of their savings in the farm and its equipment and livestock.

A system of co-operation within small groups, developing specialization in various ways and requiring payment for work done for the other members of the co-operative, could lead not only to a vast increase in production, but to a great increase in income, and by more intensive farming, to more well-paid jobs on the farm, or in the co-op., for the farmers' sons.

Professor Lyons' pamphlet on increased production in agriculture, and the statistics of production and income and wages in agriculture in the United Kingdom, show what is possible. So also do the results achieved by our best farmers in Ireland.

III

SUMMARY OF PROPOSALS

The essential features of the plan put forward for the fuller application of the co-operative idea in production are :

(1) A programme is required for farming as a unit a group of farms totalling in area from 500 to 1,000 acres :

(2) Each farmer would continue to own his own land, be fully responsible for farming it, and receive the full revenue from sales off it.

(3) Each farmer, in addition to managing his own farm, would specialize in one aspect of farming and equip himself with the machinery and knowledge to carry out the farming operations of his speciality with the utmost economy and efficiency.

(4) Each farmer would himself own his own machines and would be paid or credited a sum agreed in advance for work on the farms of others of the group. For this purpose a farmer might be understood to include a farmer's son without land in his own name.

(5) In order to ensure that there would be full economic employment for each specialist with his special set of equipment a comprehensive cropping programme as the basis of the plan is essential. For example, purchase of a green-crop-loader can be justified only by reference to an economic total acreage to be cut for silage. The member who defaults in his programme and does not offer his quota of silage-making should pay a fine out of his original subscription to the Co-Op.

(6) The smaller farmers who would not need tractors should contribute in labour, preferably specialized labour, on others' land, and thereby earn all or part of the price of the mechanical work done for them by tractor owners.

(7) A deposit of a fixed sum per acre would be required of members on joining. This fund to be used to provide loans for purchase of machinery or pedigree stock, and eventually for processing or marketing installations. Defaulting members could be fined or, in extreme cases, expelled. After a stated period members could give notice of intention to withdraw from membership, and, if not in default in their obligations, should have their deposit returned to them. A dividend should be declared on deposits as and when earned or, alternatively, a fixed rate of interest could be paid.

HOW TO START

The following suggestions are made to those who may be moved to attempt the application of any such plan :

(1) Select a number of neighbouring farmers whom you think might be brought to work together in co-operation.

(2) Ask an agricultural expert, or two or even three experts, each to prepare his own plan for the best utilization of the group of farms considered as a whole. The plan should provide for :

(*a*) a cropping programme and rotation ;

(*b*) a livestock programme ;

(*c*) a list of farm equipment to be aimed at ;

(*d*) a plan for farm improvements ;

(*e*) an estimate of the increased output and increased income which the plan might produce ;

(*f*) an estimate of the labour force required and a time-table for its full employment.

(3) Give copies of the plan to the most intelligent farmers in the parish, and ask them to study it and think it over.

(4) Call a meeting and, if necessary, several meetings of the selected group of farmers and the authors of the plans, and the people you have asked to study these plans, together with any influential local people whom you think likely to help in getting a farming co-operative going. Put the aims and advantages of the scheme before the meeting and thrash out thoroughly all objections and difficulties.

(5) Try to start in a small way with whatever feature or features of the scheme seem to be fairly certain of immediate success. But at all times keep the full plan for a completely co-ordinated working of the whole group of farms constantly before you and the farmers concerned. Discuss it at every opportunity.

(6) Keep in mind the links between the religious and social life of the group. Invite the help and co-operation of the parish priest, or a priest deputed to act for him, of the local Guild of Muintir na Tíre, of the Young Farmers' Club.

(7) Try to get the farmers of the proposed co-operatives and their families together as often as possible for social activities. Try to get the local organizations to recognise their members from the group as a separate section.

(8) As co-operation in one branch of the activity succeeds, start off on another within the framework of the plan. Get one man, for example, elected to bring the milk of the whole group to the creamery. Get one man going as a fruit farmer on his own account, and as the advisor and expert worker in the small orchards of all the others. Settle at the same time the rate of pay per hour to be credited to him. Get another to specialize in poultry. A girl or a woman who is an expert may be among the families of the group, but remind them that in all other countries this is a man's job.

(9) Get a secretary-accountant and fix his rate of reward. His accounts will not only enable each member to get his reward for work done for his neighbours, but will also be of the greatest value and importance in determining the cost of production and showing what branches and methods of farming are profitable and what are not.

(10) Organize visits to the different farms by the group, to walk the land, to see how crops and cattle and other stock are doing, to see the progress made in farm improvements, to have the benefit of exchange of views and ideas. Where possible have visiting experts present to advise and answer questions.

(11) When one group has got well established on a co-operative basis, try to get another going by bringing the prospective members to see the results obtained by the first group and to study their methods.

M. J. COSTELLO

COMMENTS ON THE FOREGOING ARTICLE

No. 1. BY DR. HENRY KENNEDY

Secretary, Irish Agricultural Organisation Society

GENERAL COSTELLO has brought a fresh mind, great ability and great energy to the service of Irish agriculture. In his new field of activity he has studied deeply. As a result, he is one of those—and until quite recently they were few—who believe that there is a vast undeveloped potential of agricultural production, the exploitation of which must be the basis of economic prosperity and greater well-being for more people in this country. It is not so long since the Banking Commission, with the examples of Denmark, Holland and New Zealand before them, came to the conclusion, which virtually meant that we had reached such a high level of efficiency in production that little more in the way of development could be expected. Recent financial shocks have brought a new interest in agriculture, which is not without danger that short-cut solutions may find favour without regard to the serious deficiencies in research and educational facilities and in the capital provision which are essential to modern agriculture. General Costello's views are imbued with a sense of responsibility and an idealism which are rare in this somewhat cynical period of our history. He is impatient over the lack of progress in the last fifty years, and there is little to flatter our vanity in an agriculture which has shown no appreciable increase in output in that period. Some of the reasons of the lack of progress are rooted in history.

It is not without significance that the Danish farmers in 1938 celebrated the 150th anniversary of their freedom from villenage. The development of their great co-operative movement was preceded by a long period of an unique system of adult education. It is true, as General Costello says, that there has been in the past, and there is to-day, too much reliance on the power of the State to solve all the farmer's problems. At the second annual general meeting of the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society, held in 1896, Father Finlay warned the farmers that their ill-

would not vanish overnight through ownership of the land. It was only in the rational use of the land for higher production and in better marketing through co-operatives that their rosy dreams could be realized. At the time that was a most unpopular doctrine.

Co-operative development has not had an easy road to travel in this country. The dairying industry was, as in so many other countries, a promising base on which to establish a foothold. Danish farmers were early in the field—soon after the development of the cream separator. The story of the first Danish creamery, founded and planned by Danish farmers, is a most interesting chapter of agricultural history. It became a place of pilgrimage for farmers from all over the country. A farm leader said: "A wave has arisen from the North Sea and is sweeping the country." The first bacon factory had a difficult passage and won out only by a narrow margin, having to face the hostility of vested interests in a way but too familiar in Ireland. In this country vested interests had already entered the field before the co-operative idea in the dairy industry was preached, and the idea was slow in taking root. Ownership of the land was a much simpler and more attractive idea than the self-discipline which co-operative development involves. Vested interests attacked. An organ of public opinion, now defunct, described Plunkett as "a monster in human form, carrying on his hellish work." Plunkett was a political personage in the Unionist interest, and thereby invited political attack. The feud with the Department of Agriculture when T. W. Russell was its political head was particularly unfortunate. The result was that, when the 1914 war broke upon the world, the co-operative movement was only getting on its feet. Later it got more than its share of attention from the Black and Tans.

This resumé of past difficulties is not recorded as an apologia for the deficiencies of the past or present advocates of co-operation. It is recounted because in my opinion General Costello does less than justice to its achievements in relation to the obstacles it had to overcome. In fact, it is only in the last 25 years that co-operation had a real opportunity to develop, and within that period many years were needed to establish the financial position of the Societies on a sound basis. Much of that period of building up strength occurred during the ecomomic blizzard. All honour is due to the prudence shown by the Committees and Managers during that critical period of our farming history.

Co-operation in the last fifty years has not grown in accordance with the vision of its founders. Is it the only movement, organization or institution which has failed in this country to fulfil the high hopes of its early days? It has to its credit a substantial achievement. Its total trade of £30 million is impressive. More important still are the ability, energy and spirit of enterprise of its personnel. The Committees and Managers of the Co-operative Societies of this country have a high sense

of responsibility and duty to the committees they serve which is a very precious asset indeed. New developments are continually taking place, seldom spectacular, but each arising from and serving local needs. During the war, the Societies responded to the need for mechanization if the crops were to be sown and harvested. That experience has shown the possibilities and limitations of a somewhat improvized programme. To-day experiments are going on whereby the Society puts certain machines at the disposal of farmers owning tractors; the machines to be operated under conditions laid down by the Society. There may be in this a contribution to General Costello's attractive programme for solving the difficulties of mechanization. There is, as General Costello suggests, a field of opportunity for co-operative societies in using some of their resources to promote more efficient production and the adoption of new techniques on the farm. The great achievements of Danish agriculture in so many fields are due in the main to the leadership given from farmers' organizations. The spectacular increase in New Zealand's production of animal products is based on pasture improvement, which was initiated by the great New Zealand Co-operative Dairy Co. In at least one development in recent times—artificial insemination—co-operatives have been the pioneers in this country. The job of revitalizing our agriculture so that there may be happy, prosperous and contented homes in the countryside and greater prosperity all round, calls for a great and united effort. The Co-operative Societies have the resources as they have the ability and the sense of duty, which justifies the belief that they will make a notable contribution.

HENRY KENNEDY

No. 2.— BY DR. PATRICK MORAN

Past President, Macra na Feirme.

GENERAL COSTELLO has an established reputation as a dynamic force in the agricultural and industrial life of the country. Hence a paper by him dealing with agricultural problems deserves careful study and attention. His well-selected quotations from Plunkett's writings are very apt to-day, when we have had an opportunity of seeing the Plunkett precepts put into practice with marked success in so many countries. We may accept *in toto* the thesis that co-operative methods are the remedy for the stagnant condition of our agricultural production. The main problem is to discover how to "sell" or "put over" this idea to the farmers. The prospects of success are probably better now than they were in Plunkett's time because standards of general education have improved and ways and means for exchange of ideas have greatly expanded. One of the

healthy signs in our national life to-day is the marked success of the few attempts to develop facilities for adult education. Our people will become receptive to new ideas when they can see more clearly the " why " and the " how."

There is probably some truth in the view that our agricultural stagnation during the last half-century is due to a great extent to our pre-occupation with political issues, but we have now had a long period of staple conditions under our own government and we have not yet begun to make progress. The truth is that we are farming only at half-cock because our farmers do not know better methods. Our primary objective must be to " put over " to them as rapidly as possible knowledge of better methods in farming techniques, processing and marketing.

Co-operative schemes, educational facilities and advisory services, organized and paid for by the farmers themselves, will be more likely to succeed than any government sponsored plans. The marked success of some of our co-operative creameries shows what can be done. We shall have to cultivate patience and begin at the bottom and work up ; plans made by a central authority and operating from above down are bound to fail.

The co-operative method in buying raw materials, in processing and in marketing has proved so successful that in some countries it is almost regarded as the only correct way of dealing with agricultural products. Here, indeed, success is guaranteed, and hence it seems to me wiser to concentrate on developing the possibilities of co-operation in these recognized and proven fields of buying, processing, marketing and providing credit facilities for farmers rather than to experiment with co-operative production.

In the field of actual production co-operative methods are getting a trial, but it is too soon to say that they have proved an unqualified success. General Costello instances the " comhar " and the " meitheal " as examples of co-operative production which worked well. The "comhar" —in my part of the country—referred only to the joint-working of a pair of horses by two farmers who owned only one horse each. It worked well, because each farmer worked both horses together, and both got the same care and the same work. It was easy to arrange on a time basis and little recording, if any, was necessary. The " meitheal " consisted of a group of men who came for a special job and generally brought their own tools. The time spent was easily recorded and repayment was made on the time basis. In many parts of the country it was spoken of as " swopping help," and, except for threshing, it is now almost a thing of the past.

General Costello's suggested programme is much less simple than either of these practices and does not seem to me to be a practicable proposition. Three principal snags suggest themselves : the lack of

adequate care of the machines, the effect on the farmer's own land of his constant " specialized work " on other holdings with the necessary absences it involves, the complicated system of accounting which would seem to need a trained accountant to oversee.

The only answer, in present conditions, to the need for mechanical aids for the small farmer is the tillage or farm-services contractor. I should like to see the Co-operative Societies undertake the work of these tillage and farm-services contractors.

I submit that the General has overstressed the difficulty of gaining adequate specialized knowledge. The average farmer can readily acquire the various skills he needs. The stimulus of acquiring and perfecting new skills and techniques is good for him, and it is good that his education should continue all through life. Variety is the spice of life, and the life of the one-job farm specialist might become as drab and monotonous as that of the assembly-line worker in a mass-production factory.

I have been greatly impressed by the good results already achieved by Macra na Feirme, and I think that the potentialities of this movement should be exploited to the full. It has purely educational objectives, and, despite occasional signs of growing pains, it has managed to keep its waggon on the rail. The improvement in farming practice on the home-farms of the active members is a most noticeable feature of its achievement. Its youth-projects plan, operated in conjunction with the Department of Education and the Vocational schools, is an excellent idea. Learning by doing, at the age when one can learn easily, is a wise idea, and it is never too early to begin to develop a sense of capacity and a sense of responsibility. It is an easy step from " pilot " projects to " pilot " farms ; the demonstration farm, with the best techniques and accurate accounts showing costs and profits, is an ideal way of spreading the light.

A great expansion in our agricultural production is undoubtedly possible, and it is in everbody's interest that it should be achieved. All General Costello's prescription for " How to Start " and get things done is equally applicable to my line of approach, and I heartily endorse and commend it.

PATRICK MORAN

THE CHURCH AND CIVIL GOVERNMENTS[1]

BY THE RIGHT REVEREND MGR. ARTHUR H. RYAN, P.P., D.D., PH. D.

TO the student of political theory, the history of the world between the two great wars offers a curious phenomenon. When the Great War broke out in 1914, democracy and parliamentary institutions were taken almost everywhere for granted as the ideal form of government. Political freedom was the great *desideratum* the world over. Indeed, President Wilson felt able to announce that the chief result of an Allied victory would be to make the world safe for democracy. The Allied victory came; but, shortly after the peace of Versailles, democracy and parliamentary institutions were fighting for their lives. Many great nations deliberately and contemptuously turned their backs upon them. In Russia, in Italy, in Germany, and elsewhere, they were supplanted by the totalitarian or authoritarian state; and there were few countries without a strong movement aiming at dictatorship of some sort.

Nor did this involve merely a change in the administrative technique of governments. It was accompanied by a new political philosophy, which affected even the democratic countries. New conceptions emerged, or, more correctly, old conceptions were revived, about the range and sweep of state authority.

Naturally, Christians are deeply interested in these developments. For us it is not a question of the success or failure of these experiments in the purely technical field. There are deeper issues involved. Every Christian has the instinctive suspicion that there is something dangerous about a theory which claims either absolute authority or universal competence for a political power. He knows that there are certain domains of life, such as marriage, the family, religious worship, freedom of opinion, education, over which the control of the state is not absolute, but either limited or non-existent. Behind this instinctive suspicion there is a long history of experience and debate; and it is to attempt to give an outline of the political theory that has been developed for centuries within the Church that I have been honoured by an invitation to lecture here this afternoon.

Such a survey will, of its nature, be swift and superficial, for it must range over the fundamental questions of political theory. What is the state? What is its origin? What is its purpose? What should be the attitude of a government towards the liberties of the subject?

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1 Notes of a lecture in the Aberdeen Hall, Dublin, 30th March, 1952, in aid of the funds of Holy Cross College, Clonliffe, Right Rev. Mgr. Kissane, President, St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, in the Chair.

1. What is the state?

There are three main opinions among political theorists. According to the individualist view, the state is nothing but the sum-total of the individuals who combine to form it. Rights and duties belong only to individuals. The idea of a society with rights is a fiction. The idea of the common good, the social welfare, is an idea without foundation. The end of the individual is the only conceivable pursuit.

This view enjoys little popularity to-day outside the circle of the philosophical anarchists. But it has still a relevance to our problems, for it was the theoretical basis, insofar as it had any, of the movement which transformed the world, the Industrial Revolution; and the source of its attendant misery, a brutalized and dehumanized proletariat. Since the Trades Union movement and the Encyclicals of Leo XIII the public conscience is unlikely to allow any modern state to return to the principles of *laissez-faire*. It is, indeed, unfortunate that the mentality that those principles fostered is still fashionable; and we have a long way to travel before it is agreed, as Cicero put it over a thousand years ago, that "there is no uglier type of state than that in which the wealthiest are reputed the best."

At opposite poles is the view of collectivism, which maintains that the aggregation of individuals in a state engenders a new being, a collective being which is as superior to the individuals who compose it as a cell is superior to its chemical elements. This being is, according to the collectivists, the end of the individual. He must act for it alone, not for himself.

What is the Catholic view? We cannot do better than seek it in St. Thomas of Aquin's *De Regimine Principum*.

He at once raises the question from the apparent opposition between the unity of the individual and the unity of society by pointing out that there is no real conflict. The unity of the individual is physical: it is the unity of an organism. The unity of society is not physical, but moral: a unity of order. It is the unity, not of an organism, but of an organization. It is not generically different from that which instinctively binds together gregarious animals: specifically, of course, there is this difference, that with man it is accompanied by a free exercise of will. Hence, St. Thomas defines society as a "moral person."

2. What is the origin of society?[1]

Wise old Aristotle, in his *Politics*, says: "He who considers things in their first growth and origin, whether a state or anything else, will obtain the clearest view." What then has history to tell us about the origin of society? Here again there are many conflicting views, which may

[1] It will be noticed that I here use the words 'state' and 'society' as interchangeable. At other levels of political discussion the distinction between the two is of the first importance; but not at this stage.

be reduced to two main heads: (1) the famous answer of the Social Contract, associated principally with the names of Hobbes and Rousseau; and (2) the answer of Aristotle himself, which is accepted by most authorities on ethnology and political theory to-day.

According to Hobbes (*Leviathan*), all men were originally equal, living in what he calls a state of pure nature. In the absence of any restraining influence, there was a state of universal war: to recall his famous phrase, "a war of every man against every man, so that life was solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short." To save themselves from these miseries, men made a social contract, each one sacrificing his liberties into the hands of a central authority. Somewhat similar is Rousseau's view in *Le Contrat Social*, with the important exception that Rousseau depicts the state of nature as one not of war, but of Arcadian peace and happiness, and traces the Social Contract to the rapacity of the first land-grabbers, who fooled the unsuspecting into accepting political institutions in order to protect their ill-gotten gains.

Of these theories, it may be said at once that they are now only of historical interest. They are grotesque, and disproved by all we know of the early history of mankind. There is no shred of evidence for the existence of these isolated individuals, with no common traditions, no accepted standards of morality, suddenly meeting together and arriving unanimously at the same conclusion, talking a language that they had apparently thought out in solitude. Nobody to-day takes them seriously.

To-day the majority of ethnologists has returned to the theory of Aristotle, that the first and most elementary form of society is the family. The family tends naturally to grow. The children in their turn found new families, until what Aristotle called *κώμαι*—village communities—arose. As these communities developed, there was born the need for organization—first, for defence against attack; then for the division of labour; then for tribunals to settle disputes. When that has been achieved, even in an elementary way, you have military, economic and juridical organization. You have, in its essentials, the perfect state.

It is not, of course, impossible that a particular state could originate in another way, as the history of migration and colonization shows; but in the prehistoric period all the evidence indicates that the family is the normal starting-point, as it always remains the primary unit, of society.

Aristotle's conclusion from this is that the state is a natural and necessary institution. As he puts it, man is *Φύσει πολίτικον ζῶον*: man is by nature a "political animal," using the word "political" in the Greek sense, from *πόλις*, a city or a state. It is man's nature to live in society. The Church has accepted this view of Aristotle wholeheartedly; and it adds that, as the author of human nature is God, and since human nature demands society, society is therefore a "divine institution."

It must be added immediately that this concept of the divine institution of society has nothing in common with a theory with which it has been often confused—the theory of the divine right of governments or kings. That theory is not Catholic : it is not even Christian. It comes from the theocracies of the ancient East. It passed into Roman Law with the jurisconsults of Severus, the great Papinian and Ulpian. It was revived by some German Emperors in the Middle Ages, and by Philippe le Bel of France. Checked for a time by the heroic resistance of Pope Boniface VIII, for whose stand in this matter, even his inveterate enemy, Dante, has passionate words of admiration, it was spread again by the court lawyers of the seventeenth century. But it was never accepted by Catholic philosophers. Suffice it to recall the fact that one of the greatest of our political theorists, Suarez, wrote his *Defensio Fidei Catholicae* against James I of England expressly to refute it. It was held only in Protestant Germany, Protestant England, and Gallican France. Not even the Popes claimed to be by divine right the kings of the Papal States. The Catholic thesis that civil power is divinely instituted is a completely different thing : it means that nature prescribes civil institutions, that nature is from God, and that therefore civil institutions have a divine sanction. Still it is a very solemn thesis ; and it would be a salutary thing in our political controversies if rulers and ruled were to remind themselves more frequently that, according to St. Thomas of Aquin, the legitimate governors of states are the representatives of Almighty God in the civil sphere.

3. The purpose of the state

Let us turn now to the third of our questions : What is the purpose of the state ? Taking as our starting point the natural origin of the state from the family, we immediately find the answer. *The purpose of the state is the furtherance of human welfare in regard to those things which the individual and the family, left to themselves, could not attain.* The purpose of the state is therefore to supplement, not to supplant, the efforts of the individual and the family. Its function is to promote the common good as distinct from the individual good. If therefore it usurps other functions, and attempts to regulate every detail of life, it is false to its natural origins, goes beyond its legitimate purposes, and commits an outrage on natural rights.

This is a hasty and inadequate sketch of the answers of Catholic political theory to the first three of our questions. But unfortunately it is one thing to establish principles ; another thing to ensure their application. And here we must turn to history to note a contribution of incalculable value that the Church has made to political practice. We have not to delve deeply into history to realize that those who wield civil authority tend easily to

despotism. Indeed, the history of humanity, in the political sphere, might be described as a struggle for freedom against the tyranny of rulers. Long before the Church was established, many great thinkers, like Confucius and the Brahmins, in ancient China and India, or Aristotle and Plato in Greece, taught that justice and charity and respect for rights ought to characterize political administration as well as every other branch of life.

But the difficulty always was : What authority was to decide questions of right or wrong in government, and how could such decisions be put into practice ?

It is an uncontrovertible fact of history that to those questions paganism never found a satisfactory answer. In the ancient East the ruling classes were also the priesthoods ; and even in Greco-Roman times, the state was the religious and the moral authority as well as the political. As Dante put it (*Purgatorio*, c. 16, 1.106)—" *é giunta la spada col pastorale : e l'un con l'altro insieme per viva forza mal convien che vada.*" (The sword was joined to the crozier ; and together they wrought havoc). Or, as Lord Acton puts it, in a modern idiom : " The vice of the classic state is that it was both Church and State in one. Morality was undistinguished from religion, and religion from politics." The inevitable result was disregard for individual rights, widespread slavery, and, in the last development, statolatry. Rome became a goddess ; the Caesar a god ; law was his will.

Again, it is a fact of history that from this evil the world was first delivered by the coming of Christ. When He distinguished the things of God from the things of Caesar, He taught a truth that set us free, even in the political sphere. The concept of individual worth did not effectively exist before Christianity ; it spread everywhere in the wake of Christianity ; it does not exist over large stretches of the East to-day except as a result of Christianity ; and it is the lesson of history that, as sure as Christianity recedes, the value of the individual recedes with it.

The Christian view of man, as the adopted son of God with an immortal soul and an eternal destiny, is, of course, primarily religious ; but it has immediate and far-reaching political repercussions. It invests every human being, regardless of race, capacity or status with inalienable rights (of conscience, of family, of education, even of property), with which no government may justly interfere.

Again, it is a matter of history that Christianity, through its concrete embodiment in a universal and supra-national Church, established what paganism never succeeded in finding—a moral court of appeal.

The history of the Church, from this aspect, is a long struggle against political absolutism, from the days of Peter and the early martyrs to the days of Ambrose of Milan, who found the formula of it all when he told no less a person than a Roman Emperor that he was *in* the Church and not *above* it ; from the struggle of the Investitures to Bracton, who insisted

that the Kings of England were *sub Deo et lege*, down to our own time when we have seen the Church locked in struggle with totalitarianism of the right or of the left.

Let me pause here to consider more closely what exactly is the rôle of the Church in politics. Even this concatenation of words, " the Church in politics," causes a certain amount of trepidation, in Ireland and elsewhere. This is due largely to a misunderstanding of the word " politics." The word has come to be associated with the political parties that divide the allegiance of democratic electorates, with the skirmishes of what are called " party politics." But, of course, it has a much nobler meaning. It is simply a Greek word for the great science of civil government.

In the realm of the purely temporal, the authority of the state is supreme; and the Church has no right, nor does she claim any, to interfere. But in the complexity of human life there is no clear-cut dividing line between politics and ethics: politics and economics, dealing as they do with problems of human conduct, are branches of ethics, of the science of morals. There are few spheres of human activity where the conscience does not enter; and where the conscience of her children enters, the Church enters. Over moral issues the faithful look to her as, by virtue of her divine mission, the supreme arbiter.

That there have been, in the course of history, some unwarranted ecclesiastical interferences in political matters cannot be denied. The personnel of the Church does not always rise superior to the weakness of human nature; and thereare therefore occasions when a protest against the Church in politics is called for. If a minister of the Church throws in the weight of his sacred dignity to decide some temporal issue where there is no moral principle involved, he is acting *ultra vires*. He is ignoring the advice of St. Paul to Timothy, that no one who is fighting the battles of God should implicate himself in purely mundane matters (2 Tim. ii, 4).

But to say that the Church has no business in politics, in that carefully qualified sense, is a very different thing from saying that, in general, politics, or indeed any sphere of human activity, lies outside the scope of ecclesiastical interest. If there have been abuses, they are comparatively rare; and completely over-shadowed by the services the Church has rendered to human liberty by protesting against the unjust encroachment of political authority.[1] These protests of the Church constitute no danger

[1] This discussion naturally suggests a cognate one, far too vast to be entered into now, but on one aspect of which I should like to touch in passing. What should be the constitutional relations between the Church and the state? Both have their rights. No Catholic will subscribe to the view of Calvin that the state has no rights as against the Church; nor to the view of Luther that the Church has no rights against the state. But the actual constitutional arrangements between the two will be largely determined by historical circumstances. The ideal can be realized only in a completely Catholic community. Thus, it would be absurd to expect satisfactory relationships in the days of Nero, or of Stalin. As for the mixed societies of to-day, I think we can see a reasonable approximation to the ideal in our own country.

On the entire question, *Church and State*, by that great servant of both, Don Luigi Sturzo (Bles, 1939), is admirable.

to political authority : on the contrary, they are one of its safest bulwarks. As the lovely hymn of the Feast of the Holy Innocents has it, " *non eripit mortalia qui regna dat coelestia* " ; or to quote the English poet, Crashaw,

> " All is God's ; and yet 'tis true
> All we have is Cæsar's, too.
> All is Cæsar's. But what odds,
> So long as Cæsar's self is God's ? "

4. The liberty of the subject

Let me turn now to the last of the four questions I put at the beginning of this short exposition : What is the ideal attitude of a government towards the liberty of the subject ? I prefer to put the question in this way rather than in the way it is sometimes put by Catholic writers : namely, what is the ideal form of government ? To that question Catholic thinkers have no answer ; and, in point of fact, the question does not admit of an answer of universal validity. One cannot discuss a question of that kind as if it were a problem in algebra. The political systems of peoples are determined to a great extent by their character and their past. It was this consideration that made a great political writer like Edmund Burke so contemptuous of the theorists of revolutionary France, who seemed to think, like the Communists of to-day, that society is a sort of plum-pudding, the best results invariably following a given recipe. The perfect answer to the question, " what is the ideal form of government ? " was given long ago by the Greek sage Solon. He answered by asking : " For whom ? At what time ? And for what purpose ? " So, as Leo XIII puts it (*Sapientiae Christianae*), " The Church knows that it is not her province to decide which is the best among the many and diverse forms of government. Amongst the various forms of state rule, she does not disapprove of any, provided the respect due to religion and good morals be observed."

But to the question, " what should be the attitude of a government towards the liberties of the subject ? " the answer of Catholic thinkers is unanimous. It is that *as far as is consistent with the common good, the subject should be allowed the maximum liberty, and governmental control should be restricted to the necessary.* The reason is that the common good, which it is the purpose of the state to foster, is not an end in itself, but a means to an end ; a means by which the individual is enabled to realize his own ends. Which is simply another way of enunciating the great principle that the state is for the individual, not the individual for the state.

The formula is indeed a general one. " As far as is consistent with the common good " is the over-riding qualification ; and it admits great

latitude of application. For instance, a state may not only justly act, but has a duty to act, in a dictatorial fashion in times of crisis, such as war or pestilence. That there is wide room for state intervention, if social injustice is so rampant that sections of the population are at the mercy of unscrupulous exploiters, has been emphatically asserted by Pius XI. But manifestly it is impossible in a short survey to consider the circumstances which condition the application of these principles to practice; and I confess that it is with relief that I confine myself to outlining the principles.

Such, in broadest outline, is the attitude of the Church on political theory; and I hope it will be admitted that it is balanced, based on sound reason, and on her insight, gained from Divine Revelation and from twenty centuries of experience, into the nature and purpose of the human being.

In the light of these principles what is to be thought of the claims of some modern governments? Since 1917 the world has seen the revival of political autocracy on a terrifying scale. The most striking form of it is the totalitarian, or the omnicompetent, state. Less far-reaching is the socialist, the managerial, or the so-called "welfare state." We have seen in recent decades the rise and fall of two totalitarianisms, Fascism and Nazism; and there is no point in discussing them here except to recall that it was the Church, through her indomitable spokesman Pius XI, who put her finger on their essential errors in *Non Abbiamo Bisogno* and *Mit Brennender Sorge*.

Much more dangerous than either, not only because of its immense power, but because its claims are not merely national or imperial, like those of Fascism, nor racial, like those of Nazism, but universal and absolute, is totalitarian Communism. The root-cause of the Church's opposition is that Communism claims to reveal to man the true meaning of existence, to hold the answer to every problem of life and thought, and to impose its doctrine by force. It is unnecessary, at this time of the day, to document this contention. Not only has it been illustrated by every impartial student of the subject, from the dawn of Marxism down to the latest witness of Sir David Kelly: it has been openly and frankly avowed from Marx to Lenin, and from Lenin to Stalin.

All the civic liberties for which Europeans, inspired by the teaching of the Church, have fought and bled for centuries—freedom of worship, speech and association; a legal system based on absolute principles and impartially administered; freedom to think and experiment for one's self; the right to criticize a government—all these, which western man has regarded as the warp and woof of civilized living, disappear under Marxist totalitarianism. Moreover, to conquer the world for Communism, by any means whatever, the Communist is determined, indeed predetermined, by his own express creed.

This pre-determination introduces a new phenomenon into international relations. It is not indeed to-day nor yesterday that imperialist aims were a menace, or that solemn promises have been shamelessly broken. But a Communist agreement or treaty—Communists themselves have warned us—is never even meant to be kept; it is a ruse, a matter of tactics. Hence few delusions have been so disastrous as that of the late President Roosevelt: that Stalin was a genuine, but rather grumpy, democrat of a new kind. Communist morality is admittedly relative. The only morality the Communist admits obliges him to break every promise, if he thereby furthers his end. This, it cannot be too often repeated, is not merely a *bourgeois*, nor even a Catholic, criticism: it is a Communist first principle.

Consequently it is manifestly impossible for the Church to come to terms with Communism; and, in being the first to warn the world about the true nature of its claims, it has earned once again the gratitude of every lover of freedom.

It has been urged from the most unexpected academic quarters, that the Church is inconsistent in her attitude, since she is totalitarian herself; and readily tolerates totalitarian *régimes* when it suits her, as, for instance, in contemporary Spain. It is difficult to be patient with such monumental misunderstanding; but it is so widespread that it requires a word of comment.

With regard to Spain, a visit there will convince anyone that to compare it with Communist totalitarianism is unusually stupid prejudice. A dictatorship the Franco *régime* may be; but most assuredly it is not a totalitarian dictatorship. To begin with, the natural law and the moral principles of Christianity are admittedly supreme, intangible, beyond the reach of political manipulation. Nobody in Spain, certainly not Franco, attempts to maintain the fundamental totalitarian tenet, held by Hitler and Mussolini, and held to this day by Stalin, that the state is the sole source and arbiter of right. On the contrary, it was Spain that first among the nations of the world had the foresight to realize the terrible nature of the totalitarian threat, and the courage to conquer it. She fought and won, over a decade ago, the battle that Europe and America are facing to-day.

As for the charge that the Church itself is totalitarian, it could only be made by a darkened mind. "Just as the Communist subject may criticize *minutiae*, but never the system, so may the Catholic say his say on trifles, but never on fundamentals": so runs the argument.

The obvious difference, of course, is that no Catholic authority, Pope or Bishop or Council, attempts to impose its own opinions. It is expounding what it believes to be revealed by Almighty God, the source of all truth. But the totalitarian dictator imposes as infallible truth a body of human thought. Why, then, should it not be examined by human

thought? To impose such an ideology perforce is the very essence of intellectual arrogance and tyranny. Further, the Church imposes nothing by force. Any Catholic who attempts to do so is violating the teaching of the Church.

It is, indeed, true that if you disobey the Church in fundamentals, you cut yourself off from its membership: you are excommunicated. But if you disagree on fundamentals with a Communist master, you do not merely lose your party ticket: you lose your liberty or your life. You are not just excommunicated: you are liquidated.

I have heard it urged that at any rate God's word is totalitarian. But of course. The Catholic quarrel with totalitarian dictation is precisely that a human being usurps the prerogatives of a divine being. A Catholic stands in awe of God; but he makes his own the protest of Cassius: "I had as lief not be, as live to be in awe of such a thing as I myself." A Catholic bows to God's supreme dominion; but, with Edmund Burke, he holds it to be a "contradiction in terms, a blasphemy in religion, and a wickedness in politics to say that any *man* can have absolute and arbitrary power".

I turn next to a recent tendency of many governments which calls for examination in the light of the principles I have tried to expound: the tendency described as the "Welfare State." Let me, in passing, record my regret that we seem to be allowing this term to be stolen by a political and economic outlook which has no right whatever to monopolize it. The end of every state is the common good, the common welfare: consequently, the Welfare State, in the literal meaning of the words, is the ideal state.

But we have allowed the name to be stolen by a concept of government which is more correctly termed "paternalist," a concept according to which the state should take over more and more of the responsibility that we have traditionally ascribed to the father of the family, or to voluntary associations. This concept assumes that the responsibility of the community for the citizen is greater than the responsibility of the citizen for himself.

What are we to think of this tendency? It is impossible not to recognize the generous impulses that are often behind it. In so far as it represents a revulsion of feeling from the horrors of *laissez-faire*, or in so far as it promotes social justice, the Church will welcome it. But it is too often forgotten that the most important part of the welfare of the citizens is their moral fibre. A community composed of self-respecting, self-reliant, industrious, independent and responsible citizens is manifestly far preferable to the type of community wherein the citizen agrees that he is not to be trusted to look after himself or his family, but hands himself and his family over to a state department.

Moreover, is it lightly to be assumed that these duties can be competently or economically carried out by state departments? There is a notorious tendency in the bureaucratic mind to tidy things up, to unify; and a temptation to overlook the prodigality and variety of the problems of life. We have a warning in that French minister of Education who announced to an astounded Chamber of Deputies that he had only to look at his watch to know what every child in France was studying at any given moment.

The Church's attitude towards the proposals of the paternalist state is marked always by her anxiety for the moral, as well as the physical, welfare of her children. That is why, from time to time, she feels bound to raise her voice to warn her children about the dangers of this or that measure. An attempt has been made recently to distinguish between the moral and the social teaching of the Church, to suggest that, while a loyal Catholic must bow to the former, he may ignore the latter. But sociology is not an autonomous science: it is a branch of ethics. I need dwell no more on this topic except to quote what Our Holy Father, Pope Pius XII, said, broadcasting from Rome on March 23rd last on Italy's "Day of the Family":—

"The Church, as a vital organism, has the power to illumine truths, applying them, while keeping their substance intact, to the variable conditions of time and place. One should consider, as an example, *the social doctrine of the Church*, which, born to answer new needs, *is only the application of the perennial Christian morals to present economic and social conditions.*"

This is not to say that the Church claims any special competence in the field of application of her social principles; but it does mean that she would be failing in her duty if she did not guide the faithful in accordance with those principles. I need hardly add that if any institution on earth can hold its head high when its social record is examined, it is the Church. She was teaching the ignorant, nursing the sick, and protecting the oppressed for centuries before any government opened its eyes to such duties; and doing so, needless to say, without a penny of state help. No wonder that Catholic sociologists find it difficult to be patient with some political reformers, who, in the middle of the second Christian millenium, look down their noses at the institution which gave them their principles and taught them their business.

Let me meet one last objection, common in my part of the country: that a Catholic, in bowing to the political and social principles of the Church, sacrifices his civil, as well as his religious, liberties; an objection which has recently been phrased in Ireland, in words which, in the presence of my distinguished chairman, have a particularly fatuous ring, "that the effective government of this country is in Maynooth".

In answer, I need only quote the words of a great Irishman, Richard Lalor Sheil. When the momentous Clare election of 1828 was won by Daniel O'Connell, and the English government was contemplating a measure of Catholic emancipation, English Protestants felt an alarm that looks ludicrous now, and called a mass meeting of protest at Penenden Heath. Sheil attended ; and when speaker after speaker had denounced the Church as the enemy of the state and the foe of civil as well as of religious liberty, according to the quaint custom still in vogue in my city, Sheil spoke, through continuous interruptions, these words :—

" Calumniators of Catholicism, have you read the history of your own country ? The body of your common laws was given by the Catholic Alfred. He gave you your judges, your magistrates, your high sheriffs, your courts of justice, your elective system, and that great bulwark of your liberties, trial by jury. . . . Where is the English boy who reads the story of his great island, whose pulse does not throb at the name of Runnymede ; whose nature is not deeply thrilled at the contemplation of that great incident when the mitred Langton, with his uplifted crozier, confronted the tyrant whose sceptre shook in his trembling hand, and extorted what you have so justly called the Great Charter ? It was at the altars of that religion which you are accustomed to consider as the handmaid of oppression that the architects of the British Constitution knelt down. It is false, foully, infamously false, that the Catholic religion has ever been the auxiliary of debasement. Call what I regard the truth an error, but do not tell me that because I am a Catholic I am in heart or creed a slave."

Arthur H. Ryan

PATRIOTISM AND THE NEXT BEST THING

BY JOHN MURRAY, S.J.

FOR the past six years a summer congress has been held at San Sebastian in Spain with the general title of *Conversaçiones Católicas Internaçionales*. It is somewhat *sui generis*, for no lectures are given and no papers read. The papers are communicated beforehand and themes are selected; then both papers and themes are discussed throughout an entire week. From sixty to seventy delegates attend the *Conversaçiones* from ten different countries. The atmosphere is most cordial and delightful, and all who have taken part in the meetings feel that they have considerably profited. One word has always to be added, when there is mention of the *Conversaçiones*—a word of genuine appreciation and thankfulness to our Spanish hosts for their rare courtesy and hospitality.

How timely are the discussions of the *Conversaçiones* may be gathered from the general titles for 1950 and 1951. The former was *The Unity of Europe*, viewed from the religious, the cultural and the social and economic standpoints. I discussed some of the findings for 1950 in an article in STUDIES for March, 1951, under the heading of *Further Reflections on the Unity of Europe*. The 1951 theme was *Patriotism*, and a question was appended: *Is Patriotism a Christian virtue?*

A reader's first reactions might not be too favourable. "What, spend a whole week discussing something as obvious as patrotism? Or talking about a question which clearly demands an answer in the affirmative"?

Yet, after slight reflection, problems begin to emerge out of what might seem so clear a situation. Some of them are permanent human problems. For instance, in pre-1918 Austria-Hungary, what was the focus of a man's patriotism? Was it Austria, if he chanced to be no Austrian? Was it the house of Habsburg? Or was it something more local and regional—the allegiance of a Czech or Croat to his own folk? You don't avoid the difficulty by saying that he had a double allegiance. For, though that is doubtless true, what happened when the loyalties clashed, as clash they eventually did and must? A similar dilemma presented itself to many Catholic Basques during the civil war. Which side ought they to choose—the anti-religious Republicans who would allow them local autonomy or the pro-religious *Franquistas* who would deny it to them? Where, it might again be queried, would normally lie the allegiance of a self-conscious Jew? Towards the land of his residence and citizenship or to his own people? Once again, the answer is that the

allegiance is twofold, but there is still the further query, what is to happen when the loyalties clash?

But this permanent problem of conflicting loyalties has been in recent years heightened in various ways. To put it sharply, I select three different cases.

The first is that of those Germans who plotted against Hitler during the recent war and whose plot came to a head in July, 1944. Their motive was certainly patriotic; they conceived it a duty to Germany to try to remove this man who had brought such disaster on the people of Germany. Many of them were arrested and executed as traitors. Were they, *in fact*, traitors or genuine patriots? Easy, no doubt, to dismiss them as traitors because they did violently react against the recognized leaders of Germany, and that, too, under the special stress of war. But the question must be asked, whether their patriotism was not truer as well as more courageous than that of the majority of Germans who tolerated or at least resigned themselves to the evil policies of the Nazi government. Was not the Germany to which they felt themselves bound in solemn allegiance a finer and a truer Germany than the Third Reich? The question could be further urged and thus formulated: Who in the long run *were* the genuine patriots and who the real traitors?

A second case could be discovered of men to-day who feel that the notion of exclusive loyalty to one country is out of date and an actual obstacle to the development of a wider loyalty to some World State or Federation. This particular theme came in for much comment and discussion during the *Conversaçiones*, and will be dealt with later in this article. Here I cite it merely as one of the problems which arise to-day round the notion of patriotism.

The third example is probably the most serious. It is here that the crisis of patriotism declares itself. We are now faced with a phenomenon which, if not entirely new in man's experience, has never occurred on so large and threatening a scale. There exist millions of Communists in Europe whose national allegiance is given, in the main—when every allowance is made for human inconsistency and for all possible combinations of motives—not to the land of their origin and citizenship but to a foreign country, not to France or Italy or Britain but to Soviet Russia. The policy of the Communist parties in all countries is to act on behalf of Russian interests by Kremlin dictation. The more acute the crisis, so much the more clearly is this distinction evident. These men are deliberately giving their patriotic allegiance to another country, which is potentially at least, and even in actual fact, enemy to their own land. And it is not a question of a handful of freaks and eccentrics, but of millions of apparently normal men and women. For them the older values of patriotism are twisted completely round. For them it is patriotic in the new sense to do all they can against the country which claims

their patriotism. This makes the third example so much more radical than the second. Men are rejecting their loyalty to the land of their birth and residence, not only in favour of a wider allegiance to humanity as a whole, but to a foreign government and Power.

LA PETITE PATRIE

We are, therefore, justified in speaking of a crisis of patriotism in the modern world.

Before, however, we consider it further, we have to turn to the notion of patriotism. What is it? And what is this *patrie*, from which it derives.

This question was thoroughly ventilated during the *Conversaçiones*. At one end Professor Marcel de Corte of the University of Liége eloquently maintained the thesis that all genuine patriotism is focussed on a man's *petite patrie*, that small world of home and family and local or regional associations, that world in which a man is truly rooted—*enraciné*—and that becomes part of him, and enters into the warp and woof of his character. He emphasized the fact that so many members during the war of resistance movements were there, not as patriots defending their country from the invader but as partisans of one ideology, fighting against partisans of the opposite ideology. The struggle was all too frequently not between Frenchmen and Germans, but between "democrats," who were often Communists, and supposed "fascists." The greatest crime of which persons could be accused after the liberation of France was, according to M. de Corte, *lèse-majesté idéologique*.

All this was ultimately due, in his opinion, to the fact that the majority of Europeans have now become *déracinés* with regard to the mysterious reality of *la patrie*. What was once a concrete and loved reality—the reality of hearth and home and region—is now a grand abstraction. Without this process of degeneration, he added, the modern State could never have become what it is now: "a cold monster among other cold monsters, incapable of arousing love save on the part of those who are greedy for power, the Minotaur of the twenty-fifth hour."

This was, for the speaker, the root of our modern tragedy, as the root of the crisis of patriotism. Modern man is, in the main, a *déraciné*; he has lost his connections with his *patrie*, with his neighbour, and with God; he must take refuge in abstractions that have no contact with the vital realities of living, and among these is the abstraction that we know as nations. For Professor de Corte there was only one way, historically, in which the passage from *petite patrie* to *grande patrie* could be assured. This was through a monarchy, for men could have concrete relations with and a concrete loyalty to a king, and such a *grande patrie* would not destroy the realities of *petites patries*.

PATRIE AND NATION

There was general agreement that patriotism must be distinguished from nationalism. Patriotism signified that close attachment to the elements from which a man had sprung and by which he had been fashioned, and to which he stood in real and concrete relation. But inevitably the *petite patrie*, which might originally have meant in Europe a medieval city or dukedom, united with other similar *patries* to form a larger unit, that ultimately became identified with a State.

This was a natural historical development, and several Spanish speakers naturally assumed that patriotism, which earlier had been centred in the *petite patrie*, now centred itself in the Nation-State, without destroying these earlier and more local loyalties. So, they would argue, before the Spanish *reconquista*, a man of Aragon was loyal to Aragon, and a Castillian to Castille, but after the *reconquista* both transferred their major allegiance to Spain. This is, of course, a reasonable argument, provided that the larger unit does not make exorbitant claims and thereby weaken the concrete basis of all genuine patriotism.

Many considered, however, that this was exactly what the nineteenth-century State had done. Until the French Revolution European patriotism had been directed largely towards the monarch. It consisted of loyalty to a king rather than a kingdom. The Revolution dethroned the monarch, and those who remained faithful to traditional loyalties found themselves branded as traitors by the revolutionaries. The Revolution altered the character of patriotism. It became loyalty, not to the ruler but to the community. Louis XIV had claimed : " L'Etat, c'est *moi*." The protest of the Jacobins was that " L'Etat, c'est *nous*." The community was identified with the State, which was supposed to represent the will of the community.

So arose nationalism in its modern form. It consisted of an *ensemble* of principles, ideas and facts which justified the unity and continuity of a nation. Nationalism considered the *patrie*, not as the *cadre* of concrete realities which are part of the individual's heritage and surroundings but as an *ensemble* of race and geography and history which transcended the experience of individuals and could only be an abstract object. Hence, the dangers of nationalism, which so soon degenerated into an *exclusive* attachment to State and Nation, which in turn implied a depreciation of every and any other national attachment and tradition. Hence, the aggressive, the chauvinist spirit of nationalism, which is wanting in the more concrete and genuine patriotism, in its rooted attachment to things concretely experienced and known.

The nineteenth-century European State was a *bourgeois* State, essentially the State of the middle classes who had made the Revolution. Its tendency was to claim all civic loyalty for the State and to destroy or at least to

cripple local and regional allegiances. And it identified patriotism with its own attitude to the State. One consequence of this attitude was the decline of the more natural and local loyalties. Another consequence, which now has alarming features, was the gradual revolt of the nineteenth-century proletariate against the Liberal and bourgeois State and the rejection of patriotism in the nineteenth-century sense. The proletarians became conscious that they had their fellows and potential friends in other countries, and their loyalties gradually became horizontal rather than perpendicular ; that is, they felt a closer affinity with foreign working men than with the bourgeois of their own speech and country. At least, this was the theory and the tendency. When the challenge came, for example, in the first world war, the theory proved abortive, and the older patriotism asserted itself. The theory was more in evidence and could be seen in practice during the second world war.

THE PARTICULAR AND THE UNIVERSAL

M. Rolin, in some valuable communications, insisted that it is our prior possession of a true *patrie* which makes it possible for us to have a larger and universal contact. Patriotism, he declared, is a recognition that we are not *unattached*. There is no proper human life, he argued, without attachment, without an *enracinement* in a *cadre concret*. How necessary is this notion of *enracinement* we all know only too clearly from the opposite phenomenon of *déracinement*, as manifest in twentieth-century man.

Patriotism, in M. Rolin's opinion, is healthy, when it is stretched, as it were, between two poles : those of a firm establishment in the concrete (*un enracinement dans le concret*) and of an opening towards what is wider and universal (*l'ouverture sur l'universel*).

> My *patrie* is, first of all, the things that are closest to me : house and home, a familiar landscape, a city and neighbours, a common speech, a way of life and reaction. But it is also " *this* particular history, *this* long series of events and emotions which has moulded so many diverse elements in one and the same bowl and has created therefrom a special human type. It is *this* culture that expresses itself in monuments of language and science, of the arts and of technical achievements, and which has made definite for my country its special kind of civilization. Without doubt, because of this national type of humanity and civilization, I am differentiated and distinguished from men of other types. But this does not divide me from them. On the contrary, it is precisely because I do belong to this particular national type that I have access to those other men.

> I am a man only because I am in the first place French or Spanish or Italian or English. I must first of all raise myself from a condition of quasi-animality to the status of true humanity by participating in that immense human inheritance, to which I am made heir by my birth in my own country. And then, afterwards, I proceed further and elevate myself to the universal human values, of which the civilization of my own land is only a first reflection and a point from which I may start."

M. Rolin does not reject *nationalism* as a false sentiment, and the general feeling of the *Conversaçiones* was here with him. On the contrary, he insists that we have to adopt a realistic standpoint and allow that the objects of the truest patriotism will hardly survive unless they be protected by a State. Further, nationalism often sustains and nourishes true patriotism. At times, it may save or even revive it. How, for example, would patriotism survive in face of that phenomenon of our times, the flight from the countryside to the towns and the replacement of organic social structures by the amorphous proletarian mass? How would it survive at all, were it not for a nationalism centering itself in the State? The objects of patriotism are protected through the unity and integrity of the nation, proceeding from the State.

Nonetheless, nationalism does differ from patriotism, and is in constant peril of moving too far away from the concrete, to which true patriotism holds fast. Hence, the danger of abstract theories, like that of natural frontiers in the eighteenth century, or of the principle of nationalities in the nineteenth or of racial principles in the twentieth. In so far as nationalism strays from the basis of genuine patriotism, it risks such dangers of abstraction, that so readily issue, as they have done, in conflict and aggression. Where, however, nationalism remains open to a higher unity, there those dangers are overcome.

PATRIOTISM MEANS PATERNITY

The perils latent and at times patent in modern nationalism may be further illustrated by contrast with *patria* and *patriotism*, understood in their original meanings. *Patria* is the object of *patriotism*, and both words imply paternity or fatherhood. A *patrie* is, in the first place, a *patrimoine*.

In other words, the first reference of patriotism is to the past. It involves a sense of indebtedness to generations that have gone before and have built up a society and traditions and a characteristic way of life. In more developed stages, it includes appreciation of a language and literature, of art and architecture, of whatever is of value in one particular tradition. In simpler forms, it is closely associated with reverence for

the dead. St. Thomas treats of it as one kind of *pietas*. This Latin word has no exact English equivalent, and it is certainly not piety, in our devotional sense. It indicates reverence and respect for a person or place or institution, with underlying notes of humility or obedience. *Pietas* is the proper attitude of child to parent, of kith to kin, of citizen to city, of patriot to *patria*. In it are conjoined duty and devotedness with a warm sentiment of attachment and affection.

This past reference is not, however, to the past *qua* past. It is no mere feeling about history and certainly no mental archæology. It treasures the past in so far as the past has created the present. For it the past is no dead achievement that has been jettisoned long ago along the roadside of history. Patriotism sees this historic past as flowing into the living present, acting upon it and moulding it.

Here, maybe, we can detect another danger in the merely nationalistic outlook. The " nationalist " is interested in the here and now, in present issues and policies. The past scarcely interests him. His field of activity is present and future. Because he has little hold upon tradition and the concrete things which are the focus of genuine patriotism, he lacks as a rule any appreciation of the traditions and concrete experiences of other peoples. The truer patriot respects the concrete experiences of other peoples precisely because he knows the value and significance of his own. Hence, one detects in the modern attitude to *patria* or *fatherland* a lack of awareness of or interest in the traditional, the historic, aspect. One's country is considered no longer as heir to great traditions but as the place for important social and political developments. Nietzsche remarked once that a *fatherland* is not the land of one's parents but of one's children. And a considerable proportion of men and women in modern society remain oblivious of what they owe to the past ; they are conscious only of what they hope, for themselves and their children, from the future.

The notion of *patrie* as *patrimoine* was well developed on the concluding day of the *Conversaçiones* by the Bishop of Vitoria, who was a regular member of the congress. His view was that generally of the Spanish members who saw little difficulty in attaching to the nation and State a genuine attitude of patriotism. It was the French and Belgian members who here had considerable difficulty. His Lordship declared that a Christian has an affection for his *patria*, that is illuminated through Faith. It springs from an awareness of our relations with our fellowmen and therefore also with God. Patriotism brings with it a recognition of what we have received—ultimately from God—through our ancestors. This calls for a Christian love, which appreciates this *paternidad*. The *paternity* that we associate with *patria* is one more instance, in the last resort, of the *paternity* of God Himself. Patriotism is our love given in return to the community, through which has come to us this *paternal*

heritage. It is the grateful acknowledgement of yet another link that binds us, through this community, to God.

PATRIOTISM AND IDEOLOGIES

As we have seen, the danger of nineteenth-century nationalism was that it considered the *patrie* in too abstract a way. The consequence was a violent nationalism, divorced from the concrete realities in which the truer patriotism is grounded. The danger of the twentieth century has shown itself to be a confusion of the national spirit with an ideology. An ideology is a set of beliefs, based on a handful of fundamental principles or prejudices, by which a man shapes his attitude to various problems, regardless of the facts and realities concerned. The ideology of the Communist contains an *a priori* answer to every query, an *a priori* solution for every difficulty. If the realities do not in fact correspond, then—says the Communist—so much the worse for the facts. The ideology of the Nazis did not stop to consider whether or not the Jews were the wicked people they held them to be; they had to be the wicked people for the simple reason that they were Jews.

M. Salleron argued, at one point of the *Conversaçiones*, that an ideology derived its strength, not from itself, but because it had been identified with a particular country. Nazism meant not Nazism, but Germany; Fascism meant Italy; and to-day, the strength of the Communist ideology resides in the fact that it is identified with Russia. The war between Russia and Germany, he insisted, was not a struggle between Communism and Nazism, which, he considered, left to themselves were doctrines sufficiently alike to be allied; it was a struggle between Russians and Germans. He gave a further instance of the victory of national feeling over Communist ideology in the breakaway from the Comintern of Tito in Yugoslavia.

Most other speakers disagreed with the implied conclusion, that the ideology mattered less than is usually thought. Undoubtedly, in certain countries—at present to the East of the iron curtain—patriotism is being officially identified with the ideology of Communism. From this follow various consequences. The first, that the great majority of the people of those countries give no loyalty at all to the present regimes and would consider it their highest patriotic duty to fight against them, should the opportunity occur. A second consequence is that, in other countries, men who accept this ideology shift their loyalty away from their own land to Soviet Russia. This is the root of much of our modern *malaise*, the widespread treason of this century, the treason of ideologies.

WIDER LOYALTIES

Señor Azoala, a Spanish delegate, made the following declaration: "Every new form of society calls for a new form of patriotism." Others demurred, on the grounds that man had only a limited power and range of loyalties, and the danger was that these loyalties might fade away, were they too broadly diffused.

Señor Azoala's sentence contained, however, a most important truth. Just as, in actual fact, we have to accept the validity of the transition from the *petite patrie* to the *grande patrie*—however many be the dangers involved in the transition—so also we must be ready to accept a gradual transition from the national State, as we have known it in modern history, to some wider and more universal form of society. In one sense, this is not progress or not merely progress. It is a return to a significant Christian conception. In medieval Christendom, there did exist this double loyalty, first to a man's own country, and then to Christendom as a whole. An Englishman, then, felt himself a citizen of England, with a warm attachment to the things that were peculiarly his, but he was also conscious of membership of this wider whole.

Señor Azoala argued that we can and must have several layers of patriotism, like a series of concentric circles, and in this context he quoted the three *patries* to which Señor Unamuno professed his attachment. There was, first of all, *la patria sensitiva*, the immediate *milieu* of his life and work; in the second place, la *patria sentimental*, his province of Vasconia; and, finally, *la patria metafísica*, which for him was Spain. Why not, he queried, extend these rings of patriotic allegiance further to embrace Europe and ultimately the whole world?

It is interesting that at the present time great efforts are being made in Western Europe to secure closer co-operation and union among the various countries. It would be a considerable mistake to interpret these efforts as so many short-term measures to deal with the present critical situation on the Continent. There is much more to it than this. A genuine feeling does exist for co-operation which will mean in the long run an abandonment of some elements of national sovereignty or even a federation between these countries. In France, divided sharply on many political questions, there is widespread agreement on one subject, namely on European Union. A Gallup poll, taken in October, 1950, showed that of the Frenchmen questioned on this matter sixty-five per cent were in favour, and only sixteen per cent were opposed. The support in both Western Germany and France for the Schuman and Pleven Plans is again a sure indication of this desire for collaboration. And, needless to state, it is European Catholics, outstanding both as Catholics and Europeans, who have taken the lead in this new policy. M. Reynaud has given the slogan: "Europe must unite or perish."

A few months ago, when the Schuman Plan was approved by a substantial majority in the *Bundestag* of Western Germany, M. Monnet telegraphed to Dr. Adenauer : " Europe is born. Long live Europe." It was certainly a historic moment, and the enthusiasm of M. Monnet was well justified.

It is only natural that Catholics in Western Europe should be prominent in this movement for closer European unity. The notion of the Absolute State, subject to no higher authority and to no law save that of contract in its dealings with other countries, was never in harmony with Catholic principles. Christendom during the Middle Ages recognized in two respects a double allegiance : that to one's own land *and* to Christendom, of which I have spoken ; and loyalty to a spiritual *and* a temporal power. These loyalties were not inconsistent but they were twofold. The absolute State, sometimes in theory and always in practice, repudiated them.

It is encouraging to notice how some of the statesmen, most favourable to this closer integration of western Europe, have themselves had wide European experience. M. Schuman, the Foreign Minister of France, and whose name has been given to the project of pooling the coal and steel resources of six countries, was a subject of Germany till 1918, since he came from the province of Lorraine. He knows therefore both Germany and France and, despite recent history, can understand Germans and at the same time be a thorough Frenchman. Dr. Adenauer, the Prime Minister of Western Germany, is from Cologne—one of the great Roman cities of Europe, in a region greatly influenced by the old Roman traditions and almost wholly Catholic. Signor de Gasperi, Italian Premier, also lived as a subject of Austria-Hungary until 1918 and sat as a representative of the Trentino in the pre-1918 Austrian Parliament.

It seems therefore evident that the growth of a wider loyalty to a European grouping, for instance, is not incompatible with a genuine allegiance to one's own country, just as a sound national attachment need not impair more local loyalties. But here, too, there are dangers : among them the tendency to run too far or fast, and so to lose oneself in airy schemes and fancies which bear little relation to reality and which are certain to fail, if ever they be put to a practical test. A parallel can here again be drawn between a genuine national spirit and more concrete loyalties. Once a man loses those smaller allegiances, then you have the wrong kind of nationalism. If a man easily repudiates a sound national allegiance in favour of a more universal attachment, then something is already wrong with that attachment. If the sheer ' nationalist ' is *déraciné*, the mere ' internationalist ' can be *déraciné* just as readily. In fact, one of the soundest remedies for the malady that confuses patriotism with an ideology is to instil and develop a sound national spirit that values and comes to love what is fine and noble in the national outlook and tradition.

A CHRISTIAN VIRTUE

The general verdict of the *Conversaçiones* was, as one would expect, that patriotism is a virtue, in itself a virtue of the natural order, and that it consists in a *pietas* or reverent and thankful sense of duty towards one's own country. It is at its soundest in the attachment to the *petite patrie*, but the *grande patrie* can also evoke a proper patriotism. It is the virtue of a Christian, not a specifically Christian virtue; it is rooted in the natural order of things and in the heart of man.

But for the Catholic, patriotism can never be the highest virtue. It is for him a virtue as for all his fellow-patriots, but it will be less imperative and all-absorbing. In the first place, he has the experience of the Catholic Church transcending every human boundary and division of class and colour, of speech and nationality. He is familiar with the idea of a vast inter-national or supra-national community, in which, in the last resort, there is neither Jew nor Greek, and, to put it briefly, neither fellow-citizen nor foreigner, but in which all men and women are gathered together under the Providence of God and through the Redemption and grace of Jesus Christ. In one sense, there are no foreigners for the Catholic who draws the ultimate consequences from his religion. Mr. Christopher Hollis wrote a book during the recent war, with the title, *Foreigners Aren't Fools*. For the logical Catholic, foreigners aren't even foreigners. This does not imply, however, that Catholics treat patriotism lightly or casually. They know that, though their outlook be universal, they themselves lead their lives in a concrete and definite setting, and they are sensitive to the loyalties which that setting involves. Indeed, this universal sentiment reinforces those more local attachments and saves them in great measure from that dangerous Nationalism which creates for itself a national abstraction.

Finally, other questions were ventilated. Have peoples a special destiny or mission in the Divine purpose? Does anything survive of what we know as the *patrie* beyond the tomb and beyond the day of judgment? One speaker recalled the splendid lines of Charles Péguy on the resurrection of the dead:

Quand les âmes des morts
S'en reviendront chercher dans les vieilles paroisses
Après tant de batailles et parmi tant d'angoisses
Le peu qui restera de leurs malheureux corps . . .
Et quand sur le parvis des hautes cathédrales . . .
Quand l'homme reviendra dans son premier village . . .
Quand il retrouvera ceux de son héritage . . .
Quand les réssuscités s'en iront par les bourgs.

And the same speaker added that, as a Frenchman, he could see how, in his own national history, the politics of St. Louis or the mission of St. Joan of Arc realized a marvellous union between the natural and the supernatural, between human enterprise and the will and grace of God, and of this he, as a Frenchman, could be justly proud. But he was mistrustful of other expressions, such as *Gesta Dei per Francos* and *France, fille ainée de l'Eglise,* for they had at times served little purpose save that of annexing the supposed goodwill of God in the national interest and for national policies.

JOHN MURRAY, S.J.

DR. RUSSELL AND THE DUBLIN REVIEW

BY THE REVEREND PROFESSOR P. J. MCLAUGHLIN, D.SC.,
Vice-President, St. Patrick's College, Maynooth

IN publications dealing with the restoration of the English Catholic Hierarchy, the part played by Irish emigrants in the Catholic revival of Britain has not been overlooked, but usually it is implied that the Irish contribution was limited to the lower layers of the social and intellectual pyramids. The implication is, as the historian can tell you, not well founded. Irish contributions at top levels were neither infrequent nor negligible. One of the high levels at which Irishmen made their presence felt was the domain covered by the quarterly *Reviews*. The " quarterlies," as they were familiarly called, were a feature of that time as much as the " digests," " illustrateds " or " funnies " are of ours. The vogue started with the brilliant Whig *Edinburgh Review* to which the Tories had replied with the unimaginatively-named *Quarterly Review*. The influence of these magazines in political and literary circles was immense. An Irishman who is now forgotten—Michael J. Quin of Tipperary—had the idea of a Catholic quarterly journal. He enlisted the help of Daniel O'Connell and of Dr. (afterwards Cardinal) Wiseman, and founded the *Dublin Review*. The first number appeared seven years after Catholic Emancipation.

I

Dr. Russell, eleventh President of Maynooth, contributed to the *Dublin Review* from the very first issue. Sensitive to the subtlest forces of his time, he quickly perceived the immediate value and sensed the remoter possibilities of Quin's venture. Like the Tipperary man, he knew the proposal was a gamble. Quin had taken chances all his life. He belonged to the class of men who will risk even their lives to bring truth to their fellows. He was a knight-errant armed with a pen. Like his famous countryman and contemporary who exposed the scandals of the Crimean War, Sir William Howard Russell, he was foreign correspondent to a London newspaper. His experiences convinced him that not a few wrongs are righted after they have been given publicity. The aim he had in mind in founding the *Dublin Review* was both political and religious. He hoped to make known to influential Britons of good will the disabilities and injustices under which Irishmen and Catholics lived. Dr. Russell had much the same general aim as Quin. The difference between them was a difference of emphasis. In Russell's opinion, the chief aim of the *Dublin Review* should be to spread the truth about Catholicism and Catholics in the highest literary and political circles.

The truth becoming widely known, Catholic emancipation might have its scope extended and be turned into a reality instead of remaining little better than paragraphs in the Statute Book. A strong desire of Russell's was the conversion of England. He had hopes that the new *Review* would help powerfully towards that end by influencing leaders of thought in Britain.

The critical period in the existence of the *Dublin Review* was its first twenty-six years. During all of that time it was constantly on the verge of collapse. It had a succession of editors. Quin was forced to quit after two numbers and a personal loss of hundreds of pounds. The big quarterlies paid their writers handsomely, but the Catholic publication was always pulling the devil by the tail, and at best it doled out a mere token-payment to a few contributors. Two men by dint of hard work and unconquerable spirit kept the periodical alive. They were Wiseman and Russell. It is clear from the correspondence which passed between the English cardinal and the Maynooth president that it was the latter principally who sustained the venture in its difficult days.[1] He did so mainly by personal contributions, and by persuading his friends on the Maynooth staff and in Dublin to write for the periodical. Likely enough, also, he used some of the large fees received for articles contributed by him to the *Edinburgh Review* to bolster up the Catholic rival publication which he edited.

We shall never know the full extent of Russell's own contributions to the *Dublin Review*, partly because of the Maynooth President's remarkable modesty and partly because of the policy of anonymity common to the great quarterlies at the time. Clues which permit us to identify some articles have been published by his nephew, the eminent man of letters, Father Matt Russell, and the list of essays which forms an appendix to the present article is based for the most part on data collected by the genial poet and industrious editor of the *Irish Monthly*. The list is impressive, but we know it to be incomplete: Russell contributed several articles to each of the first fifty-two volumes of the *Dublin Review*, while our list has gaps for many volumes. The range of subjects treated is wide, and yet the essays are never superficial. The tone seldom departs from a gentle persuasiveness that the Catholic position

1 Cp. a letter from Wiseman to Russell in 1846: "A report has reached me," wrote Wiseman, "that you are thinking of retiring from the editorship of the *Review*, and I lose not a post in writing to you not to think of such a step, especially at the present moment."

On another occasion Wiseman wrote to Russell: "We are short of matter, especially light. Cannot you get Mr. Kelly or Dr. Murray [two Maynooth professors] or others to do something?" This and other letters indicate that at first Russell and Wiseman were co-editors of the *Dublin Review*, but the lion's share of the work soon passed to Russell. In the later issues of the quarterly, Russell invariably put his own articles in the last place, a practice then common enough but not always maintained by modern editors.

is most reasonable, provided it be examined fairly by men with cultivated minds.

The articles are valuable because they depict for us in an incidental manner, and, therefore, all the more faithfully, the exact climate of prejudice and injustice which enveloped Catholics a century ago, and which Russell set out to alter. In the degree in which he was successful, we have benefited by his efforts. We cannot measure the extent of his success any more than we can measure the effect of a schoolmaster's teaching, but there can be no doubt that his influence has been prodigious, if to a great extent subtle. Every one of us owes him a very great deal for his splendid and sustained campaign against ignorance and intolerance.

In his work for the *Dublin Review* Russell appears to have kept in mind two chief classes of readers. He wrote first of all for educated Catholics to keep them informed and to confirm them in their beliefs. His writings were also directed to non-Catholic thinkers. He hoped to influence educated Protestants by making them realize how their outlook had been shaped by their background in ways below the level of consciousness. He paid particular attention to English Protestants whose minds and arguments suffered from a confusion of racial and religious prejudice, men who invariably attributed the political misfortunes of countries like Italy, Spain and Ireland to Catholicism in some shape or form, men who had been brought up to believe that economic and other evils in Ireland were the fruit, not of covetous imperialism, but of a monstrous religion.

The atmosphere of hostility which Russell did much to change is seen in a crude form in a book which appeared the year the *Dublin Review* was founded, the notorious "Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk—A Narrative of her Sufferings as Novice and Nun in Montreal." The object of this publication was to calumniate the Catholic convents in Montreal and thereby cast discredit on Catholics generally.[1] The book was so successful that it soon had imitators, Rebecca Reed's "Six Months in a Convent" being among the number. These works were what we now call propaganda, and they were aimed at people who had need to be fortified in their religious beliefs by pretended factual accounts of the vices and perversions of persons whom they had been taught to regard with hatred or contempt because of a difference in their faiths.

The two works just mentioned were amongst the least subtle of the spate of anti-Catholic books which made their appearance soon after Catholic Emancipation, and with which Russell dealt in contributions to the *Dublin Review*. Less open methods were employed in the

[1] It is a measure of the success of Russell's campaign that this title which once caused great bitterness now raises a smile.

department of fiction. Here the attack was generally insidious and sly. Novels hostile to Catholics were numerous, especially those which Russell called "no-popery" or "anti-papal aggression" novels. Popular romances of the time invariably featured "ruffian monks" with a reeking dagger or a bowl of poison under their cloaks, and the villain of nearly every plot was a "crafty Jesuit" or "a hypocritical priest." Some of Russell's writings expose the meanness of this kind of misrepresentation and demonstrate its power. Russell showed that authors of worth like young Dickens and young Thackeray were not altogether free from the spirit of unfairness, but were sometimes the active, if not fully deliberate, purveyors of religious prejudice and unconscious instigators of political injustice.

Russell also reviewed the non-fiction best-sellers of his day and showed that it was extremely difficult to discover any popular section of English letters quite free from anti-Catholic bias, open or masked. A feature of that bleak age was the encyclopædias and didactic collections like Murray's *Family Library* and Lord Brougham's *Library of Useful Knowledge* (to which many Irishmen contributed). Being works of standard authority, they embodied the national outlook. Russell's examination of these works, especially the encyclopædias in vogue, the *London*, the *Edinburgh*, the *Britannica*, *Chambers* and the *Cabinet* (edited by the colourful Irishman, Lardner) revealed the same worm in all of them. His exposure of the anti-Catholic and anti-Irish bias of the early volumes of *Chamber's Encyclopædia* had an immediate sequel. He was invited to write all the articles relating to Catholic and Irish subjects which would appear in the subsequent volumes. He took good care to accept the invitation.[1]

Russell also pointed to the existence of bias in school books, and he indicated some of the evil consequences. He took up a group of texts in use in elementary and secondary schools and showed that not one of them was free from offence. He called attention to the dangerous character of these books, and he made it clear that they did harm to the pupils as well as being unjust to members of the Catholic Church. He pointed out that Protestant parents who tolerated books of the kind failed in the duty of guarding the education of their children: they did serious harm by allowing young plastic minds to be infected with bigotry and malevolence which of their nature produce a damaging kink and warp the judgment. Public opinion, he continued, is ultimately based on the character of the school books, and public opinion cannot be sound if the public schools do not teach the facts. School books, if they

[1] A list of more than 600 of these articles will be found in the *Irish Monthly*, vol. 23 (1895), p. 75. Russell also became a contributor to the *Encyclopedia Britannica* and to some of the other publications whose bias, conscious or unconscious, he had exposed.

are allowed to be corrupted with petty bigotry, can in the end lead to the decline of a nation.[1]

Books of travel by English authors have a bad name the world over for insularity and arrogance, and much of the evil reputation was gained in Russell's century. In his day, numerous Englishmen, especially clergy, visited Italy, Spain and other Catholic countries, were entertained in generous fashion, and on their return home wrote offensive books misrepresenting the customs, habits and religious beliefs of their late hosts. Russell was rarely severe with his pen, but violation of the unwritten laws of hospitality shocked him, and he was clearly tempted to mix a little vinegar with his ink when dealing with the class of bigots whose travels fail to widen their cultural and humanitarian horizon and merely serve to confirm prejudices and fasten tighter their chauvinist blinkers.

II

The classes of books mentioned so far are in some way popular or meant for people whose thinking is done for them by others. There are also departments of literature designed for people who in some degree think for themselves, people who are the true formers of public and national opinion. In Russell's time, this class of writing was to be found chiefly in the quarterlies, and the main object of the *Dublin Review* was to influence public opinion and make it better informed than it was. Many of Russell's articles showed that the string of prejudice which ran through school books, novels, books of travels, texts for self-improving artisans and home-extension students, and encyclopedias, was continued in British periodicals for the most mature minds.

Russell showed that while the two great publications, the *Quarterly Review* and the *Edinburgh Review*, were opposed in politics and as divided in their literary view-points as in their politics, they were at one in being unfair to Catholics. The *Quarterly* was the opponent of the civil rights of Catholics. In religious matters it developed bigotry into an art. It taunted Catholics with doctrines they did not hold, often quite absurd doctrines. Russell pointed out that by carrying on a sneer-smear campaign against one religion in particular it slowly but surely undermined the foundations of all. The *Quarterly* kept on being notoriously and unblushingly unfair. In season and out of season it employed the

1 Some of the statements on which the youth of Russell's time were fed now make us smile. For instance, *The Spelling and Pronouncing Dictionary for Schools* of Sims and McIntire, Belfast, gave "Antichrist, one who opposes Christ—the Pope"; Pinnock's *Geography*, 52nd edition, p. 222, had "The Pope's sons are called his nephews, and the custom of enrichening them Nepotism"; and Guy's *Geography* had this, believe it or not: "The manner of life of the lower Irish is but little removed from that of a savage, but the higher orders are noted for their bravery and generous hospitality. The complexion of Irish females of the lower orders resembles the colour of smoked ham."

same weapons, invective, ridicule and calumny. No contributor was allowed to think for himself, nor dare he question any of the hereditary prejudices which long prescription had made venerable. It was useless to write a letter of protest, it was vain to appeal to sources or to authentic statements of Catholic faith. The *Quarterly* would not print them.

The *Edinburgh* was more liberal. It stood for Irish political rights. It had some concern for the feelings of Catholics. It aimed at something more than indulging party spleen and gratifying sectarian animosity. But its liberality was confined to the civil rights of Catholics. Its prejudice against the faith of Catholics was scarcely less intense than that of its political rival. It represented the Catholic creed as irrational, it alleged that Catholic teaching put reason in a low place, debased the mind, fettered its energies and shackled the free exercise of thought, the natural birthright of man. With a patronising tone it defended itself for its "generous" attitude to Catholics on the ground that "popery is a very different kind of thing from what it used to be: it has been modified and improved by the Reformation, but it is still debased by various superstitions."[1]

With untiring patience Russell used the pages of the *Dublin Review* to exhibit the true character of Catholicism and to expose misrepresentations, especially stock misrepresentations of the papacy, indulgences, the Inquisition, Galileo and so on (over the centuries there is a curious monotony about the misrepresentations and each age has to refute them anew). Russell showed that misrepresentations are both the cause and the effect of prejudice. He pointed out that prejudice is natural to the human mind, but that it was the boast of Englishmen that they were free from it, that they loved fair play and had a higher sense of justice and of man's natural rights than had men of other nations. The British constitution and her established religion guaranteed political and religious freedom to every individual. Such was the claim. Yet, with all her vaunted liberty of the subject, England was the slave of prejudice. In her institutions, in her society, in her literature prejudice of country and prejudice of religion were rampant. Political prejudice was notorious in the treatment of Irishmen, caste prejudice abounded in English society, and religious prejudice was part of the national heritage. There were few volumes in the library of an English gentleman of the nineteenth century that one could open and be secure from insult if

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1 Russell picks out this revealing passage to show the principles on which the *Edinburgh Review* defended Catholics:—"The Catholic religion contributes to the backwardness and barbarism of Ireland. Its debasing superstitions and childish ceremonies tend to darken men's minds, to impede the progress of knowledge, and to prevent Ireland from becoming as free, as powerful, and as rich as the sister kingdom. Though sincere friends to Catholic emancipation, we are no advocates for the Catholic religion."—*Edinburgh Review*, vol. 34, p. 335.

one were a Catholic, or safe from gross error and misconception if a Protestant. Russell instanced books of travel, books relating to art, the classics, books on history, poetry, biography, statistics, law. He showed there was scarcely a single department of English letters which had not by an unnatural perversion been pressed into anti-Catholic service. Time and usage had made traditional calumnies venerable. Russell traced many of the calumnies to their source and showed that they had their origin in interested falsehoods and had been perpetuated by ignorant credulity, so that prejudice had warped itself into the marrow of public opinion in "free" Protestant England. He showed with the power of the historian how this prejudice was the growth of centuries, and that the centre from which it emanated was the fear and detestation of popery. He showed how the very sounds "pope" and "popery" had become emotional terms to Englishmen, phonetical red rags to John Bulls. To this day they continue to evoke feelings of detestation in many Americans of English origin.[1]

There is an intimate connection between religious and national prejudice, and it is well known that England has invariably been more bitter against Catholic than against other Protestant countries. It is a common assertion of English Protestant writers that Catholic nations, just because they are Catholic, are backward and unprogressive, and occupy a lower level in the cultural hierarchy than their Protestant neighbours. Russell and the *Dublin Review* dealt with this thesis in a variety of articles. To exhibit the true nature of Catholicism, to show that the Catholic Church has not a demoralising effect on national character, he was not content to expose misrepresentations, but he described some of the great contributions made by Catholic peoples to world culture and he tried to fill up some of the vast voids in an Englishman's knowledge of world history and of other peoples. He showed, for instance, that no informed person would dream of dismissing Ireland as "little removed from the savage state," that she had an ancient civilization intimately bound up with Catholicism, that she had contributed

1 Russell called attention to the unworthy methods employed by writers of standing to promote anti-papal feeling. They forgot themselves to the point of calling the Pope names, "anti-Christ, Man of Sin, Apostate, Child of Perdition" and so forth. English so-called historians circulated statements like: "Popes of the ninth and tenth centuries were commonly monsters who owed their rise or fall to criminal activities." As late as 1829 the *London Encyclopedia* gravely repeated the oft exploded fable of Pope Joan: "Her appointment interrupted the vaunted succession of regular bishops to the see of Rome. *Between the pontificates of Leo IV and that of Benedict III*, a certain woman, who artfully disguised her sex for a considerable time, is said, by learning, genius, and dexterity to have made good her way to the papal chair, and to have governed the Church with the title and dignity of pontiff for two years." Russell remarks on the imposing plausibility achieved by the pretended precision of the narrative in the italicised words. After 1829, serious journals, with affected moderation, dropped the words "popery" and "papist" and used terms supposed to be less offensive, "Roman Catholics" and "Roman Catholicism"; but, as Russell pointed out, they continued in their pages to misrepresent the Catholic creed itself.

notably to European culture before England was heard of in civilised circles, that in modern times she was eminent in instrumental astronomy and other fields of science. He pointed to recent achievements of Italy and other Catholic countries in linguistics, in classical scholarship, and in archæology with men like Mezzofanti and Mai leading the world in their own spheres, and the excavations in the catacombs of Roman being a model to students of antiquities the world over.

In one way or another Russell quietly but persistently pressed against the vast inertia of the prevailing prejudice, and he used the pages of the *Dublin Review* to stir up a spirit of enquiry. He induced Protestants and other non-Catholics to investigate with more open minds a subject which they had so far regarded as closed. He made no attempt to enlist sympathy by parading the grievances of Catholics. He set out to create in Protestant readers a distrust of the impressions imbibed in boyhood and confirmed in youth and middle age. His appeal was to the mind, to reason and the facts of history. He asked the reader to force his mind back on the sources of his knowledge in order to free himself from prejudice. He instanced the case of Leibnitz, and he published penetrating and extensive studies to show how that great universal genius, Newton's equal, had liberated himself from the shackles of prejudice imposed on his mind by early education and Lutheran nurture.

Russell did not, of course, fill the pages of the *Dublin Review* all by himself (though on one occasion he went near to doing so), but he was most successful in getting collaborators who shared or were full of the same spirit and purpose as himself. Among them were some of his colleagues in Maynooth College. Outstanding were the dogmatic theologian, Dr. Patrick Murray, the moral theologian, Professor George Kelly, the historian and Celtic scholar, Dr. Matthew Kelly, and the young philosopher and logician, Professor William Jennings. A Dr. Murphy of Cork was also a contributor,[1] and Theobald Mathew, a nephew of the illustrious temperance reformer, furnished an article before his premature death. Russell also obtained articles from relatives of his own. His nephew, Father Matt Russell, did not contribute anything until Ward became editor, and then only a short item, but another nephew, Charles Russell, afterwards the distinguished Lord Russell of Killowen, made substantial contribution while his uncle was in charge. The Maynooth President succeeded in getting contributions from other Catholic legal men, especially Irish barristers, including the famous John O'Hagan, first Catholic lord chancellor since the Penal Laws, T. Donnelly, a Dublin man, and Sir John Gilbert, the historian of Dublin. From lay academic circles in Dublin Russell enticed the services of Abraham Dunne of the Catholic University, and of Professor Wrixon

[1] Possibly the same as Canon Murphy of Queenstown who wrote the memoir of Dr. Crotty for *The Centenary History of Maynooth College*, p. 396.

of Trinity College. Dr. Madden, the author of the *United Irishmen*, also wrote for him. Russell also seems to have been responsible for getting John Birmingham, the Irish astronomer, to write for the *Dublin Review* when Ward succeeded him in the editor's chair.

After Russell, Crolly was the most prolific of the Maynooth contributors to the *Dublin Review*. Professor of Theology in the College for nearly forty years, he is described as a very strong-minded and hard-headed man like his uncle, Dr. William Crolly, Cardinal Cullen's predecessor in the see of Armagh. George Crolly was an instance of the style not being the man. Entertaining in company, his essays are logical, profound and heavy, and better suited to a German rostrum than to the pages of a magazine. Murray, on the other hand, was an entertaining writer. He wrote with vigour, and he had the characteristic strength and weakness of one who has spent much of his life teaching students dogmatic theology. Crystal clear in his statements, he was limited in his viewpoint. He had the gift of cogency, but he was inclined to be peremptory. An interesting and popular writer, he is now remembered for his *Song for the Pope* rather than for his great theological treatise, *De Ecclesia*. Kelly was a learned historian and he was much in demand for contributions to periodicals. Jennings was a writer of promise.[1]

Since we cannot measure things of the spirit with a yardstick, it is not easy to estimate the degree to which Russell, and, under his editorship, the *Dublin Review* helped to diminish religious prejudice in England and promote the Catholic revival. There is no doubt about the fact, that the influence of Russell and his collaborators was immense. We know that they affected the Oxford Movement. We know that before their conversion many members of the Oxford group took the *Dublin Review*, and we know that after their conversion some of them wrote for it. We know that Russell's personal influence with the leader, Newman, was decisive. But countless others whose names we shall never know were led out of the mists by the *Review*. Their misconceptions about Catholics were dispelled, and they were given some understanding of Catholic teaching and practices. The *Dublin Review* made them think, it helped to get them out of blinkers, to learn the facts of history and reason from them, to give up "tied-thinking" and become "free" thinkers in the best sense of the phrase; the *Dublin Review* helped to make them realize they had been victims of centuries-old propaganda, of ingrained prejudices. For more than a quarter of a century Russell was associated with the *Dublin Review* and chief director of its campaign of enlightenment, and a great deal of its success must be attributed to him. His own contributions ranged from theology to *belles-lettres*, from church-history to antiquities, from astronomy to Irish history. In all his writings the extent and exactness

1 I hope to deal with some of these contributors to the *Dublin Review* on another occasion.

of his knowledge impressed. (To-day the universal expert is suspect but in Russell's time not a few scholars maintained a high level in a great many departments of knowledge, and Russell was of their number) He obtained much the same qualities from his collaborators. In consequence, under Russell, the *Dublin Review* gradually established itself as a reliable production, and it came to command respect in cultured circles for its informed articles, for the reasonableness of its views, and for the temperate but firm expression of them. There can be little doubt that by these means it did much to diminish bigotry and to promote the spread of truth.

P. J. McLAUGHLIN

APPENDIX

A list of some of Dr. Russell's articles in the *Dublin Review*

[For the first forty-three years of its existence, the *Dublin Review* did not print the names of its writers and all articles were anonymous. It was during this period that Dr. Russell was editor and chief contributor. This list of his contributions here given is based on clues found for the most part in the *Irish Monthly*, volume 21, 1893. Most of the articles run to 10,000 words, but not a few are twice that length.]

Vol. 1, 1836, p. 367 Versions of Scripture.

Russell was 24 when this article appeared. In it he discusses the merits of Italian, German, French and Greek versions of sacred scripture. The article is mature in style and the learning is solid.

Vol. 2, 1837, p. 226 The House of Commons Report on the Royal Dublin Society.

In those days the Dublin Society was bigoted. It blackballed the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Murray, and, in reply, there was a move aiming at the withdrawal of the government grant.

Vol. 3, 1837, p. 428 The Bible and the Reformation.
A continuation of the article on "Versions of Scripture."

The articles on "Irish History" and "High Church Theory of Dogmatic Authority" in this volume are also probably by Russell.

Vol. 5, 1838, p. 51 Prejudices of early education.

In reviewing textbooks of geography, history and the classics, Russell shows how school books are made vehicles of propaganda against Catholics. He traces the origin and exposes the injustice of several anti-Catholic prejudices.

Vol. 6, 1839, p. 111 Charitable institutions of Rome.

The first of a series of articles to prove that organised bodies to care the sick and the poor were not, as alleged, unknown in the Catholic Church.

Vol. 7, 1839, p. 430 Confessions of St. Augustine.

This study of an Oxford translation from the Fathers is evidence of Russell's early interest in the Oxford Movement.

Vol. 8, 1840, p. 56 Prejudices of popular literature.

A double article which draws attention to the anti-Catholic prejudices of non-fiction best-sellers in England in the year 1840.

In the same volume (p. 160) Russell has an ingenious criticism of the German translation of the *Pickwick Papers*, with enthusiastic and discriminating appreciation of Dickens's genius.

Vol. 10, 1841, p. 59 Pius VII.
p. 349 Leibnitz.
Each is a double article.
The ultimate triumph of Pius over Napoleon—the success of spiritual force against wordly might—was a subject which Russell developed with skill and delight.
Leibnitz also appealed to Russell. One of the most remarkable geniuses that ever lived, he was, in Russell's opinion, a profitable subject of contemplation and study for Anglicans in 1841. Later, Russell translated Leibnitz's "Theological System" with a view to influencing members of the Oxford Movement.

Vol. 11, 1841, p. 395 Cardinal Mai's "Historical Palimpsest."
The Cardinal was a great scholar. He excelled at deciphering palimpsest manuscripts. Russell was anxious to make him known in Britain, and, later on, he gives accounts of *Spicilegium Romanum* in which the Cardinal prints a wealth of gleanings from the Vatican Library relating to classical authors and the Fathers.

Vol. 12, 1842, p. 279 German hymns.
p. 295 Lingard's "History of England."
p. 362 The Armenian Convent at Venice.

Vol. 14, 1843, p. 97 Charitable institutions of Italy—Genoa.
p. 412 *Spicilegium Romanum.* (First article).

Vol. 15, 1843, p. 29 Charitable institutions of Italy—Naples.
p. 510 Russell gives a cordial welcome to "A Christmas Carol."

Vol. 16, 1844, p. 93 Symbolism. (A double article).

Vol. 18, 1845, p. 1.
Russell's famous article on the Rosse telescope, afterwards published separately and many times reprinted. A close friendship sprang up between Russell and Rosse. The passage with which this article concluded became a classic in the age before ours.
p. 555 *Spicilegium Romanum.* (Second Article).

Vol. 19, 1845, p. 195 Mary Queen of Scots.
The first of many painstaking and learned articles defending the hapless Queen against Froude and other caluminators.

Vol. 20, 1846, p. 292
In a touching article Russell calls attention to the miserable lot of deaf and dumb Catholics who are also poor.

Vol. 21, 1846, p. 163 Flemish novels.
p. 427 The Church in the catacombs.

Vol. 22, 1847, p. 59 Poetry.
p. 158 Antiquarian finds in Lycia.
p. 354 Tales of the Black Forest.

Vol. 23, 1847, p. 1 Turkish sieges of Vienna.
p. 178 Novels of Lady Fullerton.
p. 364 Flanagan's "Manual of British and Irish History."

Vol. 24, 1848, p. 79 Vicary's "Rome 1846."
Vicary was an English Protestant clergyman who enjoyed Roman hospitality and returned home and wrote an ill-mannered book about his hosts. Russell takes him and his class to task in a gentle but telling way.
p. 164 O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters."
p. 487 Church history, "The Patriarchate of Alexandria."

Vol. 25, 1848, p. 164 The poet Keats.
p. 204 Döllinger on the Reformation.
p. 267 Tractarianism in the 17th century.
p. 454 Sermons.

Vol. 26, 1849, p. 300 Catholic hymnology.
p. 390 Macaulay's "History of England."

Vol. 27, 1849, p. 1 Essays on the English Reformation.
p. 74 Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers.
p. 128 McCabe's "History of England."
p. 431 Ecclesiastical History of Scotland.

Vol. 28, 1850, p. 1 Peter the Cruel.
p. 26 The authorship of the *Imitation*.
p. 141 Maynooth edition of *Cambrensis Eversus*.
p. 167 D. F. McCarthy's poems.
p. 181 Newman's "Discourses."
p. 421 The Inquisition.
p. 469 Dr. Achilli.

Vol. 29, 1850, p. 1 De Vere's "Sketches in Greece and Turkey."
p. 30 Life of Calvin.
p. 207 Newman's "Anglican Difficulties."
p. 287 Charles V's correspondence.
p. 307 An English critic of Papal Primacy.
p. 432 Antiquities.
(p. 476 Review of Russell's translation of Leibnitz).

Vol. 30, 1851, p. 113 The Sign of the Cross.
The restoration of the English Catholic Hierarchy was the occasion of a violent letter on Catholic "mummeries of superstition" from a leading British statesman to the Bishop of Durham. Russell's way of dealing with the charge of corrupt and superstitious practices is to give a fascinating and extraordinarily comprehensive account of instances which show the habitual use of the sign of the cross in the early church. Russell's article so annoyed a Dublin reader that he cut it out—all forty pages—from the R.D.S. copy of the *Dublin Review* now in the National Library.
p. 453 Legends and Legendary Art.

Vol. 31, 1851, p. 144 "No Popery" novels.
Catholics in England had by now risen from a state of insignificance and had become important enough for popular writers to think it worth their while to kick them.
p. 259 French Catholic literature.
p. 437 A Protestant critic of the papacy.
p. 519 "Papal Aggression" novels.

Vol. 32, 1852, p. 134 Mignet's "Mary Stuart."
p. 512 Ecclesiastical History.

Vol. 33, 1852, p. 1 The Lamas of Tibet.
p. 184 Historians of the Council of Trent.
p. 269 Christianity in Japan.
p. 365 The newly discovered Hippolytus fragment.

Vol. 34, 1853, p. 174 The novels of 1853.
(They include Thackeray and one of the Brontes).
p. 482 The primacy of Rome.

Vol. 35, 1853,	p. 139	Bible lands.
	p. 229	Irish National Education.
	p. 438	Reminiscences of a Milesian.
	p. 447	Hippolytus fragment. (Second article).
Vol. 36, 1854,	p. 212	Theological essays.
	p. 494	Cromwell.
Vol. 37, 1854,	p. 232	Riddle and Robertson on the Papacy.
	p. 404	Milman's "Latin Christianity."
	p. 482	The Church of the catacombs. (Second article).
Vol. 38, 1855,	p. 73	Strickland's "Mary Stuart."
	p. 134	Huc's "Chinese Empire."
	p. 232	The Puritans.
	p. 300	De Vere's poems.
	p. 461	The Maynooth endowment of 1855.
Vol. 39, 1855,	p. 76	Burton's Pilgrimage to Mecca.
	p. 109	Popes Clement XIII and Clement XIV.
	p. 244	Sydney Smith.
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FATHER EDWARD FRANCIS PIGOT, S.J.

BY D. J. K. O'CONNELL, S.J., D.Sc.

Director of Riverview College Observatory, Sydney, N.S.W.

FATHER EDWARD FRANCIS PIGOT, S.J., founder of the Riverview College Observatory, died in Sydney in 1929. For many years he had been prominent in scientific circles, and was one of the best known figures in Australia. An account of his life and work is long overdue.

I

It will be well to start by describing his family background. The Pigot family, of Norman origin, settled in Co. Cork. After the Reformation the family remained Catholic and presumably suffered, as did the rest of the Catholic people of Ireland, all the disabilities and trials of the Penal Laws. The first member of the family of whom I have information is Dr. John Pigot, who practised at Kilworth, Co. Cork, towards the end of the 18th century. He was a graduate of Edinburgh University and was, according to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, a physician of high reputation. Dr. Pigot's son, David Richard Pigot, was Father Pigot's grandfather. David Pigot, after graduating at Trinity College, Dublin, went to Edinburgh to study medicine. Before long he gave up medicine for the law, and was called to the Bar in 1826. Being a Catholic, he was ineligible for the Inner Bar or for legal preferment, but, through profound legal knowledge and skill in pleading, he rapidly acquired an extensive practice. In 1829 the Catholic Emancipation Act opened the path of legal preferment to Catholics. Pigot was called to the Inner Bar in 1835. He had been for years a close friend of the Liberator, Daniel O'Connell, and, through O'Connell's influence with the Whig Government, his advancement was rapid. He became in succession liberal M.P. for Clonmel and Solicitor-General for Ireland, then Attorney-General, and in 1846 he was appointed Chief Baron of the Exchequer, a position which he held until his death in 1873. " In Ireland he was regarded as one of the most learned judges who had ever administered law in that country. He possessed literary attainments of a high order, as well as great proficiency in music, especially that of Ireland. Some of the Irish sketches published by Crofton Croker were written by Pigot when a law student in London." (*D.N.B.*, v. 45 art. by J. T. Gilbert, LL.D., F.S.A.). The Lord Chief Baron's legal and musical talents were handed on to his descendants, as we shall see.

Edward Francis Pigot was born at Dundrum House, Dundrum, near Dublin, on 18th September 1858. His father was David Richard

Pigot, son of Chief Baron Pigot,[1] and was himself a distinguished Judge, being for many years Master of the Exchequer Division in Dublin. He married a daughter of Sir James Murray, a well-known Dublin physician and founder of the firm which still manufactures Murray's Magnesia. They had eight children, three girls and five boys, of whom Edward was the fourth. Edward did not go to school. He was educated at home by a governess and tutors. The governess was Miss Beatrice Harford, whom Father Pigot called, in a letter to me, " the good angel of the Pigot family." To all intents and purposes she soon became a member of the family and was dearly loved by the three generations of Pigot children whom she taught. When I knew her, she was an old lady living with Father Pigot's eldest sister, Mrs. Maunsell, and loved to talk of her dear Ned and to hear of his achievements. She outlived him by some years and died in Dublin at a very advanced age.

The Pigot family was extremely musical. They lived in an atmosphere of classical music. They had a fine musical library and regularly performed the trios and quartets and other works of the great composers. Often Sir Francis Cruise, a well-known Dublin doctor, author and authority on Thomas a Kempis, as well as a good cellist, would join in the performances. A game they often enjoyed consisted in a competition as to who would first identify the work from which was taken a phrase hummed by one of them. Edward's instrument was the piano. He soon became a very fine pianist. I have an idea that at one time he thought of making music his career. Had he done so, there can be little doubt that he would have become a concert pianist of high repute. His technique was flawless and his interpretation of many of the great composers, especially of Beethoven and Chopin, seemed to the present writer unsurpassed, indeed unequalled except by a very few great pianists, and remains an unforgettable memory. Not only was his ear very acute, but he had, what is rarer, a very exact sense of absolute pitch. He had opportunities of getting to know some of the great pianists of the day. When he met Arthur Rubinstein, he was invited to dine with the famous pianist and composer, but, being young and bashful, as he told me, he declined the honour. As a young man he went with his music master, George Sproule, on a European tour. They went to Geneva to call on Liszt, who received them very kindly and asked them to play for him. Liszt made no comment on the master's play, but complimented Pigot very highly.

Like all his family for many generations, Edward Pigot went to Trinity College, Dublin. He graduated B.A. in 1880. Among his class-fellows were Sir Bertram Windle, the well-known scientist and author and President of University College, Cork, and Sir William Irvine, later Premier of

[1] For an interesting account of Chief-Baron Pigot's younger son, John Edward Pigot, see Professor Denis Gwynn's article in STUDIES, June, 1949, pp. 145-157.

Victoria. From childhood Edward Pigot had a deep love for astronomy, and as an undergraduate he had his first training in that science from Sir Robert Ball, then Royal Astronomer for Ireland and Professor of Astronomy at Trinity.

Edward's grandfather, father and uncle were lawyers, as was his youngest brother, John H. Pigot, who became a Judge, and the long legal tradition is still maintained in the present generation. However, Edward decided to make medicine his career. He graduated M.B., B.Ch. with high distinction, at Trinity in 1882. After a postgraduate course at the London Hospital, Whitechapel, he set up in practice in Baggot Street, Dublin. Many of the Dublin poor had grateful memories of his kindness and goodness to them at that time. With his great talents he could doubtless have reached a high place in his profession, but he felt the call to higher things. He once told me that one whom he consulted, and whose advice he especially valued, when he was pondering his future course, was his friend, John O'Hagan, the distinguished Judge, who had been an intimate friend of John Pigot a generation earlier. Edward Pigot had spent a very happy childhood and youth in Dundrum and was deeply attached to all his family, and they to him. To leave them meant no small sacrifice. Furthermore, what he proposed was quite a new departure in his family, no other member of which had entered the Church. After long and careful deliberation he asked for admission to the Society of Jesus. He was accepted and became a novice at Dromore, Co. Down, on 10 June 1885. One may mention here that his affection for his family was not lessened by the change in his life. Indeed, that affection became even deeper as the years went by, even though for most of his life he was separated from his family by half the globe.

During his two years' novitiate he came to know well a fellow-novice William O'Leary, some ten years his junior. The two became lifelong friends, and, when Father Pigot died, he was succeeded as Director of Riverview Observatory by Father William O'Leary. The orbits of the two families had crossed some years previously. There was a murder trial in Dublin about 1870 which became a *cause célèbre*. A police spy named Talbot, a particularly obnoxious specimen of his kind, was shot one night in a Dublin street. He staggered a mile or so to a hospital, where an operation was performed to extract a bullet from his neck. After the operation he died. Meanwhile a man with a gun in his hand had been arrested not far from the scene of the attack. He was a Fenian, named Kelly. He was arrested and tried for murder. In the course of a sensational trial, the defending counsel, Isaac Butt, Q.C., proved that Talbot had died, not of the bullet wound, but from the clumsy surgery of the young surgeon who operated on him. The presiding Judge was Chief Baron Pigot and the expert witness who gave the essential evidence which led to the acquittal by the jury was Dr. O'Leary, Professor of Anatomy at the Royal College of Surgeons, and William O'Leary's father.

Dr. O'Leary was afterwards a well-known member of the Irish Party in the House of Commons.

After his novitiate Edward Pigot studied for a time at Milltown Park, Dublin. He then commenced teaching at University College, Dublin. At this time he began to be troubled with the ill health which dogged him for the rest of his life. He suffered from constant headaches. His Superiors decided to try if a change of climate would benefit him and he was sent to Australia in 1888. He taught for a short time at Xavier College, Melbourne, and then came to St. Ignatius' College, Riverview, where he spent the next four years teaching Physics and Physiology, supervising the games and studies of the boys and looking after their health. He had no previous experience of school life, and the work can hardly have come easy to him. Nevertheless, many boys of those days remained his friends for life and still revere his memory.

In 1892 he returned to Europe to continue his studies for the priesthood. He spent three years in Jersey with the French Jesuits then exiled from France. There he studied philosophy, but also had opportunities of continuing his scientific studies and of learning something of observatory work, which was pursued very efficiently by the French Jesuits. In 1895 he returned to Dublin and studied theology for three years at Milltown Park. He was ordained priest in 1898. The following year he spent at St. Stanislaus College, Tullamore, engaged in deepening his spiritual life during what is called the Tertianship, or third year of probation (the earlier two years being spent in the noviceship).

II

During his tertianship Father Pigot made up his mind to a greater sacrifice even than he had made in giving up his career in 1885. The French Jesuits had flourishing missions in China and, during his stay in Jersey, Father Pigot had come in contact with this work and felt drawn to it. He offered himself for the Chinese Mission, and, being accepted, went to Shanghai in 1899. It is hard enough for a young man in good health to leave his country and family and friends and devote his life to the difficult work of a foreign mission. Father Pigot was now 41 years old and in indifferent health, but, in his generosity, he wanted to spend himself to the utmost in working for Christ. He was stationed at the flourishing mission of Zi-ka-Wei, near Shanghai. The world-famous observatory connected with the mission had been started some years previously, and active work was being done there in meteorology, astronomy and terrestrial magnetism. Father Pigot was assigned to this work. He devoted himself particularly to astronomy, and obtained much experience, especially in solar work. He also studied Chinese. Like the other missionaries of those days, he grew a beard and a pigtail.

Father Pigot's health got worse, and in 1903 he was sent to Australia, in the hope that a stay there would improve it. He did not care to be idle and, instead of taking things easy, he spent some months working, first at Melbourne, and then at Sydney Observatory, getting further experience in astronomy. He then spent about a year teaching again at Riverview. During that period he carried out some early experiments in wireless transmission. In May, 1904, thinking that his health was sufficiently restored, he returned to China and resumed work at Zi-ka-Wei Observatory. In 1907 his health broke down again, more seriously than before. He was sent back to Australia, a dying man, as it was thought. In 1933 I visited Zi-ka-Wei and met some of his colleagues who were then still at the Observatory. They told me that, when Father Pigot left them in 1907, they thought that he would never work again. Yet the main work of his life was still before him and he lived another 22 active years. For the rest of his life he was, and looked, very frail, but he had great vitality and a determined will and spirit that drove him on.

On his way back to Australia he visited, not for the first time, the famous Manila Observatory. While there, and on the journey he began to work out plans for starting an Observatory at Riverview. We have his own account of how the idea originated, in a report on the observatory prepared for his superiors in 1913 :

> On my return in 1907 from China, where I had been on the staff of the large and justly-celebrated Observatory of our French Fathers at Zi-ka-Wei (Shanghai), my old idea of a modest beginning of a high-class observatory at Riverview revived and began to take more definite shape. My life-long love for Astronomy and the example of the splendid astronomical work accomplished by the Observatories of other [Jesuit] Provinces would naturally have led to dreams, if not projects, in that direction. . . . But the enormous cost of even moderately sized astronomical instruments, and the fact that nowadays (unlike 300 years ago) nothing less than highly-specialized research with up-to-date instrumental equipment will ever bring the Society the recognition from expert authority she has always wished to secure, A.M.D.G., these were reasons, and not the only ones, for selecting one or more of the other branches of recognised Observatory work, at least to begin with.

He then explains that terrestrial magnetism could not be undertaken at Riverview, because of electric trams operating a couple of miles away. He decided that he would set up a seismological station as the start of an observatory.

The science of seismology was then of very recent growth. It was, indeed, only a couple of years since Professor Wiechert had begun to lay the foundations of an exact science of seismology by his theoretical researches and the invention of accurate seismographs. There were already several good seismological stations in Europe, but the only fully equipped station in the whole Southern hemisphere was that run by the Göttingen Academy of Sciences at Apia, Samoa. Good work was being done at Manila Observatory, where plans for further development were under

way. Father Pigot saw that there was a fine opening for a good station in Australia. Sydney is strategically placed for observing earthquake shocks originating in the very active seismic zones to the North and East of Australia, and Father Pigot decided that a station at Riverview, properly equipped, could provide data very valuable for the development of seismology and, indirectly, of our knowledge of the earth and its interior. His 1913 report continues :

> Ideas matured as a result of a second visit to the other great Jesuit Observatory of the Far East, Manila (in March, 1907), and a study of practical detail work followed at Apia Observatory (Samoa) in August (1908), and at the main European centres in 1911.

He goes on to describe his programme of work :

> Not the mere recording of earthquakes, . . . but collaboration in seismological research with the principal centres throughout the world, using instruments equal to theirs in every detail of modern requirement. This programme to be carried out by the prompt and regular issue of Seismological Bulletins to these centres, similar to theirs and exchanged with them—these Bulletins containing exact analytical data of every earthquake recorded at Riverview, the data being quantitative and not merely qualitative, " absolute " and not merely relative values. All this carried out on the lines approved by the Permanent Commission of the International Seismological Association. The geographical position of Sydney, situated as it is so comparatively near to the origins of many of the largest tectonic earthquakes of the world (the S.W. Pacific Ocean), renders accurate data from the records of these earthquakes at Riverview of great value to the far-off European Observatories, where they are also recorded and studied.
>
> In addition to the above, other branches of seismological research claim a large amount of attention—e.g., microseismic tremors and their relation to cyclonic storms in the neighbouring ocean, etc. ; the occasional publication, in scientific journals, of original Memoirs dealing with these and similar problems of great theoretical interest so much engaging at present the attention of seismologists (several of which are in progress here already), is, of course, greatly to be desired, A.M.D.G., but is impossible till the personnel is increased, as the routine work has to be got through first of all.

It is interesting to notice in this report the reference to the connection between microseisms and cyclonic storms. It is a very early mention of this very important research, which in recent years has been of such great value in following the tracks of hurricanes in the Carribean Sea and of typhoons in the China Sea.

The founding of Riverview Observatory affords a good illustration of Father Pigot's methods of work. First came careful preparation, including a thorough study of the subject and full discussion of plans, by letter or in person, with the leading authorities in the world in that particular field. Only first-class equipment, the best obtainable, would satisfy him. He was unsurpassed in the careful installation and manipulation of delicate instruments. His long, sensitive fingers, those of a surgeon and a musician, were admirably suited for such manipulations, and he had long schooled himself to the degree of patience that is so essential

in work of this kind. Every detail of routine work, maintenance of instruments, examination of records, calculations, preparation and printing of results, was carefully worked out. He trained his assistants very thoroughly in careful and accurate work and strict devotion to scientific honesty. If an assistant failed to come up to Father Pigot's high standards, he was soon advised to seek other work. He trained a number of young men with whom he was thoroughly satisfied. The first of these left to join the army in 1914 and never came back to observatory work. Others left with regret after some years at Riverview to find more remunerative work. The sad fact was that the funds available were insufficient to pay an adequate salary except to a young man at the beginning of his career. The last assistant to receive Father Pigot's thorough training was Mr. P. F. Rheinberger, who started in 1926 and, happily, is still doing good work at the Observatory.

After correspondence with leading seismologists in Europe, Father Pigot, in 1908, ordered a complete set of Wiechert seismographs, the best then being made. While they were being constructed in Göttingen, he spent some weeks, in August 1908, at Apia Observatory, working with Dr. Angenheister, Dr. Wegener and Dr. Linke, and becoming familiar with the operation of the Wiechert instruments in use there. In March, 1909, the first Riverview seismograph started recording. Soon afterwards a second instrument was set up. Ever since then the motion of the earth has been recorded continuously at Riverview, except for a few days in 1914, when all the staff were ill or absent. In 1910 a set of Mainka seismographs was added.

The first Riverview Seismological Bulletins were issued in 1909. Soon afterwards letters of appreciation began to arrive from scientists in many countries. Leading authorities, such as Professor Wiechert, Professor Milne, Sir George Darwin and Count Montessus de Ballore, wrote in terms of the highest praise of the work done at Riverview. There can be no doubt that the Riverview Seismological Observatory is Father Pigot's greatest achievement. The work was established on a solid foundation and has been carefully maintained and developed. It has played an important part in the development of seismology. Tributes to the accuracy and reliability of the results obtained, and of their great value to science, could be quoted from many authorities over the past forty years.

Father Pigot attached great weight to visits to other observatories and to personal discussions with fellow scientists. For a worker in Australia this was all the more important, owing to his isolation from the great centres of research in Europe and America. In 1911 Father Pigot started on one of his many visits to observatories and scientists abroad. His itinerary on this occasion gives an idea of the energy he expended, and leaves one amazed that so frail a man could do so much in a short

time. He was in Paris on October 19th. Then he visited in succession the following places, spending a week or more in some, in others only a day or two: London, Dublin, Limerick, Stonyhurst, Greenwich, Eskdalemuir, Brussels, Strassburg, Frankfurt, Göttingen, Berlin, Potsdam, Leipzig, Dresden, Vienna, Kalocsa (Hungary), Budapest, Agram, Fiume, Udine, Venice, Padua, Bologna, Florence, Rome, Genoa, Marseilles.

An interesting episode was his attempt to enter Russia. He had been corresponding with the great Russian scientist, Prince Boris Galitzin, by then the leading authority on seismology and inventor of the latest and best seismographs. Galitzin had warmly invited him to visit his Observatory at Pulkowa, near St. Petersburg. Now, no Jesuit had been allowed to enter Russia for a hundred years past, and the Russian Embassy in London would not give a visa to Father Pigot. He went to the Foreign Office, and the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Sir Edward Grey, did all he could to help. He instructed the British Ambassador in St. Petersburg, Sir George Buchanan, to ask the Russian Government to relax the anti-Jesuit law for this occasion and to permit Father Pigot to visit Russia. The Russian Government refused absolutely. Father Pigot informed Prince Galitzin, who at once visited the Foreign Minister, Sazonoff, and succeeded in persuading him to admit Father Pigot to Russia. An official communication came to Father Pigot from the Foreign Office, London, informing him that the Russian Government would allow him to go to Russia and to spend three days there. Galitzin wrote again to Father Pigot, and his letter is worth quoting in full:

Imperial Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg, 8th January, 1912.

Your letter from Vienna was a very great disappointment for me. I never would have supposed that our authorities could have been so stupid and so narrow-minded. In fact, they did everything clandestinely and never informed me, that the British Ambassador had asked the permission for you to enter Russia. I have made a great row about it here and the refusal has been immediately withdrawn. I have a personal letter of the minister for foreign affairs about it, so that now you have free entry to Russia, but I fear it is now too late and you wont care to come any more after the ungentlemanly way you have been treated by our government. I dont even dare to invite you any more, but if, before leaving for Australia, you should think it possible coming to St. Petersburg to see our new installation, which has recently been inaugurated, I need not say how happy I should be.

I am sorry you did not write *to me* in time about your proposed visit and that difficulties might arise, as I am certain I could have settled all this business very easily in time, as in fact I have done now.

If you have not given up the idea of coming to me, let me know three or two weeks beforehand, so that I might settle a lot of stupid formalities. I hope you will then be a guest at my house. Yours most sincerely, B. Galitzin.

The permit reached Father Pigot in Rome, where he was lying ill with pleurisy. The doctors insisted that he could not, in his condition, face the rigours of a Russian winter. With great regret Father Pigot informed Galitzin that he had to return to Australia.

(*To be concluded*) D. J. K. O'Connell

CONTEMPORARY BRITISH PHILOSOPHY

BY THE REVEREND JEREMIAH NEWMAN, M.A. (N.U.I.), D.PHIL. (LOUVAIN)

I

A VISITOR to the bookshops of Continental University centres cannot fail to be struck by the evidence of contemporary philosophical movements. Not alone the strictly philosophical sections but almost every section—the literary, the psychological, the legal—are crammed with volumes which approach, each its own problem, from the Existentialist, Marxist or Thomist point of view. Continental thought is very much alive. Schools thrive; discussion abounds. And while it may be true that but little of this has real value, it is, nevertheless, an indication of movement and movement, we know, is one of the signs of life.

In Britain the situation is very different. Books on philosophy are not as plentiful as on the Continent and there is a singular dearth of metaphysical treatises. Such being the case it is hardly necessary to say that there exists scarcely any philosophical movement, at any rate in the sphere of metaphysics. In Oxford, for example, one finds the bookshops stocked with works which date from the thirties and earlier, by men now dead or past their prime, such as Collingwood, Prichard, Carritt, Paton and Ross. The philosophers of today publish little. With the exception of three or four works of merit, scarcely anything of originality has appeared during the past five years or more. Perhaps it is British cautiousness in the extreme that is responsible for this prevailing state of affairs. Nobody likes being accused of talking nonsense, least of all the hard-headed Englishman. Hence his traditional suspicion of metaphysics and his tendency to adopt the empirical viewpoint. The professional British philosophers of today can almost be said to be afraid to publish. They are chary of being told that they are building castles in the air.

There are, I think, historical reasons for this attitude and an understanding of the contemporary philosophical situation in Britain is impossible without an appreciation of their influence. It is more than probable that the present-day outlook is the culmination of a violent reaction to the Idealist metaphysics to which nineteenth century thinkers gave assent, a reaction that has been gaining force over the whole period of the last half-century. In practically every domain of life nineteenth century England marked a departure from the traditions of the past. Philosophy was no exception. The empiricism of Occam, Hobbes, Locke and Hume was replaced by an *a priori* Hegelianism imported during the century from Germany. German philosophy affected Scotland first. *Sartor Resartus* (1833) by Thomas Carlyle shows traces of Fichte and the work of Sir William Hamilton traces of Kant. With *The Secret of Hegel* (1865) by James Hutcheson Stirling, the most influential German of all

entered the scene, Scottish philosophy becoming swiftly completely Hegelian. In England, and more especially in Oxford, a similar process took place. The University became the centre of a philosophical movement whose leader was Thomas Hill Green and whose chief members were F. H. Bradley, Bernard Bosanquet, William Wallace and R. L. Nettleship. With these Hegelianism shrouded itself almost with the character of a religious revival. For in the eighteen-seventies and eighties many thoughtful men found their religious faith shattered by the combined assault of Positivism, Darwinism and German Biblical Criticism. Hegelian Idealism provided an *a priori* spiritual interpretation of the universe which surmounted these difficulties by regarding the material world and the events of human history as a reflection of and deduction from the dialectial development of universal thought—the Absolute. As has been well pointed out[1] this interpretation could take the concepts of physical science as merely technical devices and so dismiss positivism as vulgar error. It could take biological evolution as the development of the Absolute Idea, and it could take the spiritual significance of religious tradition as overriding difficulties about historical evidence. This goes a long way in explaining its vogue.

It has been contended by R. G. Collingwood, in his autobiography[2] that the title 'Hegelianism' was repudiated by Green and his school. Green, he says, had read Hegel in his youth but rejected him in middle age while Bradley knew enough of Hegel only to be certain that he disagreed with his cardinal doctrines. Moreover, Collingwood insists that the movement never in any sense dominated the philosophical thought of Oxford professors. Nevertheless, he admits that it had great influence and does not deny that Hegelianism coloured it strongly. Through the 'Greats' school it influenced a host of pupils destined for public life in the Church, the Bar, the Civil Service and Parliament, who left Oxford with the conviction that the philosophy they had learnt there was an important thing and that it was their duty to put it into practice. Hence from 1880 to 1910 the philosophy of the school of Green penetrated and fertilized every domain of English public life. And it is here that we find most clearly the evidence for the Hegelianism with which it was contaminated. The political sympathies of its followers were, as might be expected of Hegelians, predominantly on the Left, Liberal or Socialist, certainly against individualism and *laissez faire*. Indeed Bosanquet's *Philosophical Theory of the State* (1899) is extremely Hegelian in character.

The unpopularity of Green's school at Oxford, among many professional philosophers at least, was due almost entirely to the fact that it was out of harmony with the traditional academic stream. The empirical and analytic approach has been a peculiar characteristic of

1 A. D. Ritchie: *British Philosophers* (London, 1950), p. 47.

2 R. G. Collingwood: *Autobiography* (London, 1933), p. 15 seq.

English philosophy from as early as the twelfth century onwards. We find it always inclined to seek reality in the individual thing in preference to the universal, an emphasis upon sensory apprehension in knowledge, a restriction of the scope of demonstrative reasoning and enlargement of that of probable reasoning. We find these views current among the Scotists of Medieval Oxford and later in Occam and a host of minor figures. They were strengthened by the individualism of the Reformation and later by the inductive methods of physical science. Hence the main current of British philosophy, Bacon, Hobbes, Locke, Hume and the Scottish common-sense philosophers,—with the exception only of the Cambridge Platonists and the nineteenth century school of Green—is essentially empirical rather than deductive. We are not surprised then when Collingwood tells us that Green's school " presented itself to most Oxford philosophers as something which had to be destroyed, and in destroying which they would be discharging their first duty to their subject."

And so a new school of ' realists ' appeared, which undertook the task of discrediting the work of Green and his followers, whom they described comprehensively as ' idealists'—though here again is a title repudiated by Bradley. The leader of this realist school was John Cook Wilson, professor of logic but believer in common sense. The most important of his followers were E. F. Carritt, H. A. Prichard and H. W. B. Joseph. G. E. Moore initiated a parallel school at Cambridge, as also did Alexander at Manchester. They insisted in the name of common sense that the Idealists were in error in exalting the status of the mind as cognitive and leaving no room for the material world except in terms of paradox, *i.e.*, as not being what it seems to be. Idealism, they pointed out, was the fruit of an age of Romanticism with its atmosphere of make-believe and unreality. Unfortunately, however, in the eyes of the realists, idealism came to be identified with metaphysics and, as a consequence, metaphysics itself came to be regarded as hollow speculation. Hence their violent about-turn towards empiricism and verifiable fact. By degrees realism parted with all philosophical doctrines whatsoever. Among the first of these was traditional moral philosophy which had always been regarded as the study of human conduct for the purpose of discovering how to act better. In 1912, Prichard announced that such a conception of moral philosophy was erroneous and advocated a new kind, purely positive, in which the workings of moral consciousness should be scientifically described but no attempt made to interfere with and reform them. Young students at the universities no longer got ideals and principles from philosophy as had their fathers from the earlier school of Green. They were told, in fact, that no good philosopher could or would try to give them. It was not alone ethics that was jettisoned. So too was the theory of knowledge, for though realism had begun by defining itself as a theory of knowledge it has gradually decided that no such theory was possible.

Thus little by little everything in the way of positive doctrine was abandoned. The result, we are told by Collingwood, was that students became convinced that "philosophy was a silly and trifling game, and developed a lifelong contempt for the subject and a lifelong grudge against the men who had wasted their time by forcing it upon their attention."

The professional realist philosophers themselves were by no means in an enviable plight. At first they had been proud of having eradicated the *a priori* speculation of the idealists who preceded them. But soon they discovered that they had nothing with which to replace it except an abstruse and destructive body of criticism. To quote Collingwood again: "The later history of the realist movement is the story of how the men who best understood the ideas of the original 'realists,' and tried hardest to remain loyal to them, found one piece of ground after another slipping from under their feet, and stumbled from one temporary and patchwork philosophy to another in a kind of intellectual nightmare. One of them, Bertrand Russell, a gifted and accomplished writer, has left records of his successive attempts at a philosophy." In Russell we have a concrete example of the culmination of the realist revolt against idealism, the gradual abandonment of metaphysics and the concentration on logical analysis which is the main feature of British philosophy today. No system of metaphysics in the classical sense is to be found in Russell. The idea that by using abstract reasoning alone one could discover the main outlines of the structure of the universe had long passed. But Russell was not content to let it rest; he set out to show that it was entirely fallacious through being rooted upon a false logic. Such was the burden of his most important works, *The Principles of Mathematics* (1903) and *Principia Mathematica* (1910-13), which latter was written in cooperation with Whitehead. Though their titles might lead the reader to think that they deal with mathematics in the ordinary sense of the word, that is not the case. Both of them deal with the foundations of logic. The titles are explained by the fact that they expound the highly novel thesis that mathematics and logic are identical. In other words, they present us with a new logic, a new body of knowledge which, says Russell, "to those who accept it, appears to invalidate much traditional philosophy and even a good deal of what is current in the present day. In this way, as well as by its bearing on still unsolved problems, mathematical logic is relevant to philosophy."[3]

The philosopher seeks to attain to truth. Now truth can only be expressed in a statement and no statement can be made without using words. Exactly the same statement can be made in many different languages and sentences. Aristotle, however, had insisted that there are only

[3] Bertrand Russell: *Introduction to Mathematical Philosophy* (London, 1919).

three fundamental kinds of proposition, the categorical, the hypothetical and the disjunctive, and his view was, on the whole, generally accepted for round about two thousand years. Of the three the categorical alone is a simple proposition ; the others are simple propositions united in certain ways. What all simple propositions have in common is that each of them has a subject and a predicate, the subject being an individual or a class and the predicate a quality which is asserted as belonging to the subject. This being the case it appears immediately that there is no room for relational propositions. Propositions which assert a relation between things must be set out as propositions which state that these things possess qualities of one kind or another. This can have important consequences. For if a proposition is the vehicle for our expressing what we believe to be the truth about the universe and if all truth can be put only in the form of a simple proposition, it must be, says Russell, because of the fact that the universe itself has a structure which lends itself to this form. The absurd consequences for metaphysical theory are clear and examples can be found throughout the history of philosophy. Leibnitz, for example, as a consequence of his view that monads can have no relations other than those which spring from their own nature, attributed to them the quality of being 'windowless,' and the Absolute Idealists, having concluded that nothing could be self-contained, were forced to the view that all true statements must be made of the whole universe, predicating of it some quality or other. Absurd, indeed meaningless, said Russell.

Russell's new logic denied the foundations of the traditional system. There are many types of argument, it pointed out, which cannot be expressed as syllogisms, many types of proposition which cannot be reduced to the predicative kind. Relational propositions, for example those containing the relation 'greater than,' must be regarded as ultimate and constitutive of a separate class. The results of this for general philosophy are chiefly negative ; all it shows is that certain types of metaphysical argument—such as those mentioned above—are invalid. True, Russell endeavoured to show, after a manner which we could not hope to explain here, that there is also a way in which the study of relations can provide a new instrument for general theory. But it is one which merely puts it within our power, not indeed to prove anything about the nature of reality, but to envisage a number of possible theories which otherwise could not have been formulated—a contribution that can scarcely be called positive.[4] The general upshot of the whole thing was a deepening distrust of metaphysics. For though Russell did not claim to have proved that all metaphysical statements are false, he did contend that the arguments in their favour are often—if not usually—invalid. And while it remained theoretically possible to find new arguments which might establish them, the outlook was by no means encouraging.

[4] Cf. Alan Dorward: *Bertrand Russell* (London, 1951), p. 14 seq.

II

It remained for Wittgenstein to convince British philosophers that metaphysics cannot, in fact, ever reveal anything but mirages. Ludwig Wittgenstein was the pupil of Russell and, in later life, had the unusual distinction of profoundly affecting the thought of his master. After studying for some time in Cambridge under Russell, he returned to his native Austria. But before returning home he spent some time in Norway where, in a lonely hut, he prepared the first rough draft of his famous *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus,* which was extremely positivistic as we shall see. When the war broke out it was still unfinished and Wittgenstein, now in Austria, had to set it aside and join the Austrian army. Made prisoner by the Italians in 1918, he applied himself to preparing his manuscript for publication. Russell, to whom he wrote at this time, contrived to have him released by the Italian Government and arranged a meeting between them at the Hague. There they discussed the *Tractatus,* as Russell tells us ' line for line.' It had a great effect on the development of Russell's thought. Wittgenstein himself, on returning to Austria, became more and more daring in his positivism, largely due to the influence on him of the then recently formed Vienna Circle, the first school of Logical Positivism.

Founded by Moritz Schlick, in 1923, it numbered among its members Rudolf Carnap, Hans Reichenbach, Waismann, Karl Popper, Wittgenstein and A. J. Ayer. Schlick had been trained in the old German school where he had been taught that metaphysics was not only a science but the queen of sciences. He revolted against this traditional set-up and strove to dethrone metaphysics from its lofty and unmerited seat and reduce it to the status of handmaiden to scientific method. And so he and his group declared the traditional problems of metaphysics and morals to be, for the most part, nonsense questions. The only questions worth asking, as philosophers, were forms of logical or linguistic analysis. Such was the birth of logical positivism. Its many successful congresses between the years 1923 and 1939 show the dynamism and popularity of the movement. The threat of war eventually scattered its members but they were to begin anew in England and the United States. To England came Popper, Waismann and Wittgenstein, where the seeds of their positivism took firm root. Wittgenstein was profoundly influenced by logical positivism; he had already been moving in that direction himself. And so when he returned to Cambridge, this time armed with his *Tractatus* and full of the ideas of the Austrian school, he was much less in sympathy with Russell's moderately rationalist philosophy which he regarded as not sufficiently anti-metaphysical. Russell, as I have mentioned, had already replaced the old two-term logic, which divided statements into true and false, with his new logic, which included also meaningless statements.

A proposition, he had said, to be meaningful, " must be composed of constituents with which we are acquainted."[5] Wittgenstein extended this idea from Russell's limited field of application. Statements, he declared, are either significant (true and false) or meaningless according as there exists or does not exist a one to one correspondence between their elements and the structure of the world. From this he was driven to the conclusion that " the totality of true propositions is the totality of the natural sciences." " Philosophy is not one of the natural sciences." Hence " the object of philosophy is but the logical clarification of thoughts . . . . Philosophy is not a doctrine but an activity."[6] The *Tractatus* seemed to lead to two conclusions: first, that philosophy can be useful as a mental exercise, although it discloses no facts; and secondly, that all philosophical statements, being neither true nor false, are meaningless. From this dilemma Wittgenstein retreated in the end to mysticism.[7]

Wittgenstein was to have a deep and lasting effect on the course of British philosophy. Indeed his influence on Russell is evident in one of the very first publications of the latter after their philosophical conference at the Hague. I refer to *The Analysis of Mind* (1921). In this work Russell attaches much greater importance than heretofore to the idea of meaningless terms and statements. In his *Principia* he had been content to apply this idea to mathematics, instituting meaningless symbols for classes (which are essential for mathematics) and then asserting all the possible propositions about such classes without assuming that there are any such entities. He gave to them the name ' logical constructions'. In 1914 he had applied these ideas to the critical analysis of our ordinary everyday statements about the data of our external sense preceptions and had endeavoured to sift what is really existent from the logical constructions which we unconsciously erect upon it.[8] Now, under the influence of Wittgenstein, he applied it to the theory of knowledge in general and with much more revolutionary consequences. Consciousness, he now said, consists in a complex of sensations and images related in a certain way. A belief consists in such a related complex together with a specific belief-feeling. When this complex corresponds in a certain way to the facts, then the belief is true and we have knowledge. But how infrequently is this the case especially in what is called metaphysical knowledge. Metaphysics stresses relations more than sensations. Bradleyan Idealism, in particular, was a tissue of relations between things, internal but really existing relations. For Russell, however, there are no such things as internal relations. All relations are external, added to the essence of things by the mind; they are, in short, logical constructions. He opts for a

5 Cf. Bertrand Russell: *Problems of Philosophy* (London, 1922).

6 *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*, pp. 75-77.

7 Cf. M. Cranston: *Ludwig Wittgenstein* (World Review, Dec. 1951), p. 22.

8 B. Russell: *Our Knowledge of the External World* (London, 1914).

pluralistic positivism. The world is composed of independent atoms of matter related extrinsically by mind, sense-data connected by logical constructions. True knowledge is purely empirical and is to be had only from the natural sciences. Philosophy ought rather to pose problems than try to resolve them. Its task is essentially a critical one, that of clarifying concepts, propositions and scientific demonstrations by submitting them to logical analysis. Even science can only hope to attain to probability, the last refuge of the 'enlightened agnostic.' All these adventures in ideas may be traced in the most important works of Russell's latter period, *An Inquiry into the Meaning of Truth* (1940) and *Human Knowledge* (1948), though in this last, as we shall see, the ever-changing Russell turns back again to the necessity of supra-empirical first-principles. Nevertheless, we have seen in the story of his development how the reaction to Idealism, through Realism, finally emerged as Positivism.

The other chief figure in the development of British positivism has been A. J. Ayer, now Professor at London. While still at Oxford, as yet a young man of 23, Ayer published, in 1936, his attention-compelling *Language, Truth and Logic*. Since then it has had a sale that is exceptionally high in the domain of philosophical literature, having run into twelve impressions by 1951. It would be entirely impossible here to give an adequate account of this most provocative book. Ayer had been influenced by the Austrian school and also by the thought of Russell and Wittgenstein. But his own views are even more strongly positivistic. His opening sentence augurs well what is to come: "The traditional disputes of philosophers are, for the most part, as unwarranted as they are unfruitful." Hence he begins by rejecting the metaphysical thesis that philosophy affords us knowledge of a transcendant, that is supra-sensitive, reality. Kant, he notes, also rejected metaphysics in this sense, but whereas he accused metaphysicians of an erroneous view regarding the limits of human understanding, Ayer accuses them of disobeying the rules which govern the significant use of language. A criterion of verifiability, he asserts, is necessary for testing the significant character of statements of any kind. For a statement of fact to be genuine some possible observations must be relevant to the determination of its truth or falsehood. He means by this that "it is the mark of a genuine factual proposition, not that it should be equivalent to an experiential proposition, or any finite number of experiential propositions, but simply that some experiential propositions can be deduced from it . . . . A good example of the kind of utterance that is condemned by our criterion as being not even false but nonsensical would be the assertion that the world of sense-experience was altogether unreal." For, on the whole, and exceptions apart, "no series of observations could have any tendency to show that the world revealed to us by sense-experience was unreal. Consequently, anyone who condemns the sensible world as a world of mere appearance, as opposed to reality, is

saying something which, according to our criterion of significance, is literally nonsensical."[9] Bang goes the Idealist metaphysics of Bradley's *Appearance and Reality*. In fact all metaphysics is ruled out. "Philosophy, as a genuine branch of knowledge, must be distinguished from metaphysics . . . . The majority of the 'great philosophers' of the past were not essentially metaphysicians"[10]. Metaphysics should, therefore, be eliminated.

The function of philosophy, according to Ayer, is wholly critical. Philosophizing is an activity of analysis of the Lockean, Berkeleyean or Humean brands. Ayer accepts the phenomenalism of these philosophers, minus, however, any metaphysics with which it was contaminated. He will have nothing to do with metaphysics or anything that could be said even to resemble it. Hence he will not commit himself even to Russell's doctrine of atomism. As an analyst he is not concerned with the physical properties of things, but only in the way in which we speak about them. Now empirical analysis, he says, reveals that we must deny that any general proposition concerning a matter of fact can be known with certainty to be valid. In other words it is impossible on empiricist principles to justify a belief in necessary truths. No general proposition whose validity is subject to the test of actual experience can ever be logically certain. For no matter how often it is verified there is always the possibility of its being shown to be erroneous in the future. It can at best be a probable hypothesis. The results of this empirical critique are obviously destructive in ethics and theology. The upshot in ethics is that assertions of value are not 'factual' but 'emotive.' They are neither true nor false but meaningless. Ethics should concern itself merely with the recounting of moral fact and is really a department of the science of sociology. The same applies to aesthetics. Again, as regards theology, demonstration of the existence of a transcendant God is an impossibility; it is a tissue of metaphysical assertions and is, therefore, not literally significant. Such are a few, among the more salient points, that are made by Ayer in *Language, Truth and Logic*. Wittgenstein, we have noted, was ultimately driven by the barrenness of his logical analysis to take refuge in mysticism and religion. But Ayer will have none of this either. It is true, he writes, that "although the greater part of metaphysics is merely the embodiment of humdrum errors, there remain a number of metaphysical passages which are the work of genuine mystical feeling; and they may more plausibly be held to have moral or aesthetic value. But, as far as we are concerned, the distinction between the kind of metaphysics that is produced

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9 A. J. Ayer: *Language, Truth and Logic* (London, 1936), pp. 38-39.

10 Ibid. p. 41.

by a philosopher who has been duped by grammar, and the kind that is produced by a mystic who is trying to express the inexpressible, is of no great importance. What is important to us is to realise that even the utterances of the metaphysician who is attempting to expound are literally senseless; so that henceforth we may pursue our philosophical researches with as little regard for them as for the more inglorious kind of metaphysics which comes from a failure to understand the workings of our language."[11]

During all this time Wittgenstein, at Cambridge, as yet unconverted to Catholicism, was developing the first of the two conclusions of the *Tractatus*, that philosophy can be useful as an activity, rather than the second, that all philosophical statements are meaningless. The notes which he left behind him on this subject are soon to be published by Basil Blackwell under the title of *Untersuchung* (Investigation). As yet only students' class notes are available, but they show that Wittgenstein was engaged in a logical analysis such as Ayer thought to be the function of true philosophy without himself engaging in it to any extent. Between them Ayer and Wittgenstein were, in the main, responsible for the growth of the British Logical Positivist school such as it exists today. It numbers, or has numbered, among its members such important names as Susan Stebbing, A. E. Duncan Jones, C. A. Mace and Gilbert Ryle. Let me hasten, however, to add a note of explanation. Logical analysis and logical positivism are not necessarily one and the same thing. They correspond roughly to the first two conclusions which we have noted in Wittgenstein's *Tractatus*. Logical positivism may or may not be the outcome of logical analysis. Many analysts are not positivists. Their analyses, as Gilbert Ryle has put it, lay bare not merely verbal intricacies and inaccuracies but " the facts into which philosophy is the inquiry." They do not necessarily dispose of metaphysics. Yet it is easy to get the impression that, in Britain, logical positivism and linguistic analysis are the same thing. Most analysts appear to believe that in a properly clarified language metaphysical problems could not even be raised. There are, however, important exceptions.

Ryle, at present Waynflete Professor of Philosophy at Oxford and Editor of *Mind*, is perhaps the most brilliant of contemporary logical analysts. Incidentally, he was Ayer's tutor at Oxford and there can be little doubt that he was, to a very great degree, responsible for the moulding of Ayer's mind. But Wittgenstein looms large behind them all. In the 1930's he had met Ryle, then a don at Christ Church, and the seeds of the revolution that was to take place in Oxford philosophy were sown.

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[11] Ibid. p. 45.

In his new book *The Concept of Mind*[12] Ryle has adopted Wittgenstein's distinction between 'philosophy as an activity' and 'philosophy as a doctrine,' under his own terminology of 'knowing how' and 'knowing that." Only the former, in his opinion, has any value as philosophy. Twenty years ago in a paper on *Systematically Misleading Expressions* he had expressed his belief that the sole function of philosophy is " the detection of the sources in linguistic idioms of recurrent misconstructions and absurd theories." *The Concept of Mind* is an excursion into this philosophy. In a style that rivals that of Locke or of Hume, indeed with a crispness and wit that have rarely been equalled in expository prose, Ryle examines true and false notions about the will, the emotions, the imagination and the intellect, self-knowledge, sensation and observation. In a word, he describes and prescribes for the workings of his own mind and the minds of others. Here is logical analysis at its height.

In a most interesting article, which appeared in *The Month*, (June 1950) Fr. Leslie J. Walker, S.J., has made a comparison between the analytic philosophy of Ryle and the Existentialism of Jean-Paul Sartre. It is indeed an apt comparison to draw because Existentialism, no less than logical analysis, is the fruit of a reaction to Hegelianism. Both are a kind of phenomenology. Fr. Walker compares *The Concept of Mind* with an English translation of Sartre's novel *La Nausée*, published in the same year under the title *The Diary of Antoine Roquentin*. Both books, he notes, however different in style and method, " deal with precisely the same topics: knowing, willing, feeling, self-knowledge and the elusiveness of " I," mutterings and day-dreams, humming tunes and playing games, vivid and dead images, pictures, reminiscences genuine and distorted, pretending and seeming to be, with an occasional thrust at theologians who seek to save immortal souls " . . . . " In fact, so striking is the correspondence that Professor Ryle's work reads almost like a running commentary on that of Sartre, for one finds on looking through the two books that there is scarcely a problem which Sartre has raised that the Oxford Professor has not sought to solve." Fr. Walker proves his point to the hilt. The theme 'I exist only in so far as I act,' which is basic to the philosophy of Sartre, is basic too in *The Concept of Mind*. And as the awareness of others is, for Sartre, involved in my awareness of my own existence, so too Professor Ryle claims that there is no need to prove, in the strict sense, the existence of other minds. " I discover that there are other minds in understanding what other people say and do . . . . I am not inferring to the workings of your mind, I am following them." Again, Sartre's stress on the importance of self-knowledge is paralleled in *The Concept of Mind* which devotes a chapter

12 G. Ryle: *The Concept of Mind* (London, 1948).

to it. Roquentin, Sartre's mouthpiece in his novel, ponders over his experiences in much the same way as does Ryle, except that the latter describes consciousness philosophically. Similarly, Sartre's account of volition as an intellectual 'decision,' made clear in a series of vividly described situations, is in harmony with Professor Ryle's idea of it as a mysterious pheonomenon which exists but possesses no real causal efficacy. It simply allows free scope to an idea of proposed action, which action, on finding no obstacle to its existence, immediately proceeds to come into being. But there is no need to labour the matter. Fr. Walker has a water-tight case.

In a further article I shall complete the exposition of current British empiricism, dealing in particular with its recent manifestation in the critical philosophy of history, and shall conclude with a general criticism.

JEREMIAH NEWMAN

DESIGN IN STAINED GLASS

BY DANIEL SHIELDS, S.J.

BEFORE the artist can properly handle his material or the critic form a balanced judgment on the finished work, each must have a competent knowledge of the capacity of the material employed, taking into consideration its limitations as well as its scope. Without this knowledge, there can be neither good craftsmanship nor adequate criticism. The history of decline and decadence in any branch of art is but the record of the refusal of the artist to subordinate his aims to the capacity of his material, while decay in taste is due to the acceptance of this insubordination by the critic

" Stained Glass " is a descriptive term, applicable both to glass coloured throughout its substance and to that which has merely a surface stain. In medieval times the term was restricted to glass coloured in its substance, since surface staining was unknown until the end of the thirteenth century. At the present day, glass designers who work in the authentic medieval tradition confine themselves, for the greater part, to the use of substance-coloured glass as this is superior, both in colour and translucence, to surface-stained glass. With the making of this substance-coloured glass, the artist of the present day has nothing whatever to do. The glass factory provides his coloured glass. In medieval times, the artist often made his own glass, but that was only accidental to the circumstances of the period and did not pertain essentially to the designer's art.[1]

At the present day the making of glass by the artist would be a mere waste of time, because the stained glass of an experienced and skilled maker can hold its own with the best medieval work. Although lacking in the quality of patina, which only time can supply, its richness of colour and quality of texture compensate for this want. A recent exhibition of modern glass in the Museum of Decorative Arts in the Louvre gave the opportunity of comparing old and new and dispelled any doubts as to the superlative qualities of well made modern glass.

In the manufacture of stained glass there are two main methods used in the process of staining or colouring. One method produces what is called " pot-metal " glass : that is, glass stained throughout its substance, or as the French call it, stained *en masse*. Its name comes from the fact that it gets its colouring in the melting pot. The colouring agents used are mainly iron oxides which are added to clear glass while molten.

The second method produces what is called " flashed " glass which has a thin skin or flash of coloured glass annealed to a foundation of clear or " white " glass. The process is carried out when both are in a molten state. This flash of colour is completely different in quality from the

[1] The fullest information on the making of medieval glass is given by the Monk Theophilus, in his famous treatise *Diversarum Artium Schedula* said to have been written in a German Benedictine Monastery in the 10th century.

stain produced by transparent enamel which tends to dullness and want of luminosity. The invention of " flashed " glass was due to the need of overcoming the want of translucence in ruby glass when coloured *en masse*, but the method is now used for all colours owing to the facility it gives in etching patterns on the " flash " by means of acid which eats away the coloured skin and allows the clear glass to shine through.

The stains used in surface colouring are very numerous and varied. At the end of the thirteenth century, a yellow or golden stain was discovered, derived from sulphite of silver and varied in depth of colour according to the length and temperature of the firing in the kiln. When used with discretion, it was very effective in simulating gold and brocade, especially when used in conjunction with abrasion or etching on " flashed " glass. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw the invention of transparent vitreous enamels made by grinding up coloured glass and mixing it with a fusible medium. With this process of staining, the glass suffers a great loss of luminosity, due to the opacity of the enamel resulting from the impossibility of perfect fusing in the kiln. This method of staining which made polychromy possible contributed more than any other cause to the eventual decadence of glass designing since it tempted the glazier to emulate the easel-painter.

The building up of stained glass into a window design is a complicated process, but some acquaintance with the method is essential for an intelligent appreciation of the art. First of all, a full scale cartoon or sketch is painted in colour with the leaded divisions indicated by clearly defined lines. The sheets of glass are then cut in shapes corresponding in size and colour to the coloured sections on the cartoon design. When this is completed, the mosaic of coloured glass is waxed on to a perpendicular easel of glass. The details of the design, such as facial features, architectural settings and draperies are painted on this coloured background. This is done with black paint generally composed of iron oxide and powdered glass mixed with liquid resin. The medieval artist used no other paint, if we except the yellow stain which came into use after the thirteenth century. The glass is next removed from the easel and placed in trays on a bed of french chalk and " fired " in a glass oven until the paint is annealed or burnt into the glass. When cool, the pieces are laid on the " leading bench " and joined together with strips of grooved lead and soldered at the junctures. The " leading " is usually carried out in relatively small panels, corresponding in size to the spaces between the iron " saddle " bars which are set into the stone framework of the window. To these horizontal bars the panels are attached by copper wire. It would be impossible to erect a large window in one piece. Certain technical details have been omitted as not essential to a general understanding of the art, but the outline contains the main processes of the craft as practised from medieval times until the present day.

From this brief outline of the materials at the disposal of the artist, it should be evident that he is dealing with an artistic medium which has a certain quality of inflexibility and rigidity. As in the case of all strongly characterized material, whether animate or inanimate, its handling must be of such a kind as will mould it to a grace of form without a lessening of its strength. This principle is of prime importance in the handling of stained-glass design, for any attempt to impress on it the qualities of a gentler or more malleable material can only produce a result which is deficient both in strength and charm. Any design which involves the close copying of natural forms and colouring will necessarily fail, for pictorial realism requires the use of a medium endowed with such flexibility as will enable the artist to represent with strict accuracy the colours and volumed forms of nature. This quality of flexibility is not found in the materials at the disposal of the designer in glass.

Colour in stained glass, beauiful and varied as it is, has very definite limitations in its capacity for portraying natural tones and shades. It has a quality all its own, quite different from those of nature. Colours in nature are seen through an atmospheric medium which softens their most brilliant hues while colour in glass, through the penetration of light into the very substance of the material, gives it a vibrant luminosity and strength of colour completely unsubdued. Ruskin, in *The Stones of Venice*, commenting on this quality, says that " the ungovernableness of its colour (changing in the furnace) and its violence (being always in a high key because produced by actual light) render it so disadvantageous in every way, that the result of working in it for pictorial effect would infallibly be the destruction of all appreciation of the noble qualities of pictorial colour."

In the delineation of form, an emancipation from a rigid copying of nature likewise finds its justification in the nature of the material employed. The modelling of volumed form, with its dependance on the use of shadows and gradated colour, presupposes the co-operation of a medium which can supply these needs. Except in a very limited and artificial manner, neither shadow not delicately gradated colour can be adequately represented through the materials of glass design. (A similar difficulty besets also the painter in tempera, whose designs owing to this difficulty bear a great resemblance to those of the medieval glass designer). When to this difficulty is added the further problem of creating aerial perspective which also depends on the use of shadow and gradated colour, it becomes clear that the representation of volumed form in an atmospheric setting is beyond the scope of stained glass. In the Handbook to the collection of stained glass shown at the Paris Exhibition of 1880, M. Didron writes :

> As is the case with all architectonic painting, stained glass demands simplicity in composition, sobriety in execution, and an avoidance of naturalistic imitation.

It should aim neither at illusion nor perspective. Its scheme of colour should be frank, energetic, comprising few tints, yet producing a harmony at once sumptuous and soothing, which should compel attention, but seeks not to engross it to the detriment of the setting. Like a mural mosaic, an eastern carpet or the goldsmith's enamelled work of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, a truly decorative window has no affinities with a picture, a scene or landscape gazed at from an open window where the interest concentrates itself upon a particular point and where the illumination is not equally diffused throughout. The fundamental law of glass design rests on a convention the aim of which is the satisfaction of the eye, which finds pleasure to a far greater degree in the logical decoration of structural form than in its realization of natural phenomena.

Once these principles of design which emancipate the artist from a close copying of nature are accepted, the problem of design is greatly simplified and the appreciation of medieval as well as of good modern craftsmanship becomes possible.

In the stained glass of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, it is evident that the artist expressed his thought through the medium of his material, untroubled by the idiom of any other art. Well aware that the essential beauty of glass lay in its rich, luminous brilliance, he composed his design with the definite object of giving prominence to that quality. In the Cathedral at Sens, a panel depicting the parable of the Prodigal Son shows him surrounded by pigs, one of which is green, another white, while two are blue and another red. In Canterbury, in a medallion of the Parable of the Sower, the sower himself is as bodiless as his glass background, while the landscape against which he is placed is simplified to a wavy pattern of green and white lines, on which stand two very stylized trees in blue and yellow. In both these windows there is a want of realistic treatment, and yet the forceful preaching of either parable is not lessened by its absence. The stories have lost nothing by being told in terms of colours which bear little relation to those of nature.

This quality of forceful presentation in medieval glass owes much to the simplification of composition; form is reduced to essentials and superfluous details are avoided as harmful to a clear statement of fact. Unity of design by which the eye is satisfied by a sense of tranquility gives added strength; there is not a single line or mass of colour in isolation from the whole, for the composition is closely linked into one articulated design through laws of harmony and rhythmic linear motif. This desire for unity is sometimes further exemplified through a repetition of the architectural rhythm reflected in the design of the window itself.

In the design of candle and incense-bearing angels in the border of *La Belle Verrière* of Chartres, there is a soaring upward movement which, like that of Gothic architecture, is not one of aimless restlessness but of advancing rhythm, seeking and finding repose in the apex of the window arch.

So long as the designer limited himself to the requirements of his material, he was at peace in his success; but once he was tempted to disregard these limitations by a desire of realizing a wider mode of expression, he had no longer peace. Like the Prodigal, he wandered into strange and wasteful lands where he squandered his rich birthright. Between the stained glass window and the painted panel "a great gulf is fixed." Renaissance art tried to bridge it over. The history of decadence in glass design is the record of this attempt. With what degree of failure, we now go on to discuss.

There is no need to analyse the spirit of the Renaissance movement in detail; it is sufficient for our purpose to note that its main characteristic in the domain of art was an intense interest in classical and realistic form. With this interest there coincided the discovery by Jan Van Eyck (1390–1441) of a new oil medium for painting which had the most momentous and lasting effects on the plastic arts of Europe. It had a rich fluency of character which, by its extreme flexibility in manipulation and slow-drying quality, gave the artist free scope for direct modelling and blending of colours on the canvas. With this pliant means at his disposal, the artist could now ambition the exact representation of nature, no longer hindered, as the tempera and glass painters had been, by the recalcitrant nature of his materials. There was no longer any need to resort to symbolical and pictorial conventions or stylized form as substitutes for natural phenomena. The road to realistic art was wide open. By the time the sixteenth century was well on its way, the humanistic movement had captured the mind of Europe.

With this spirit went a deep disdain for everything medieval. Apart from the iconoclastic barbarism of the Reformation period, there are endless examples in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries of vandalism perpetrated in the name of artistic reform. The vow of Louis XIII that he would completely transform Gothic architecture from what he termed a barbarous uncouthness to a civilized classicism is well known. Whether or not as the result of this, Notre Dame suffered much from the classical vandals. The Gothic high altar and jube, as well as the choir stalls, were removed and replaced by classical designs. Much of the medieval glass was also removed and clear glass substituted. Even Chartres did not escape the widespread wave of Baroque reform. The choir windows were removed and filled with contemporary Flemish glass. One reason given by the good Canons for this replacement was the difficulty they experienced in reading the Office in the "dim religious light" of the cathedral. Perhaps they felt that this edifying explanation would somewhat hide their following of fashionable taste. As the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries advanced, the great canvases of Giorgione, Titian, Da Vinci and Michelangelo filled the churches and palaces of western Europe and completely overshadowed by their realistic magnificence

the more restrained arts of the Gothic period. The story of the fourteenth century tapestries, which had been presented to the Cathedral of Angers by the Anjou family and are now treasured as amongst the most precious possessions of European art, is a good illustration of the spirit of the age. In the process of redecorating the Cathedral in 1782 they were removed by the Bishop and, when he failed to sell them, he presented them to the Abbey of St. Serge, where they were used for all kinds of domestic purposes. Some of them were used to cover beds and floors, and even used as horsecovers in the Bishop's stables. It was not until the middle of the nineteenth century that what remained of them were rescued by a more discerning Bishop and, after restoration, replaced in the Cathedral. So widespread was the acceptance of Renaissance art, and so deeply seated the revolt against Gothic forms, that scarcely a single art escaped the imposition of realism. Mosaic, tapestry and stained glass suffered most. Almost every rule which should govern the idioms of artistic expression in these mediums was ignored and ruthlessly violated

In the art of stained glass the " picture " window became the standard of excellence, and the closer it approached to exact pictorial realism, the more it was valued. Portrait and landscape painters with no experience in glass designing were commissioned to prepare window designs. For the church of St. Eustache in Paris, the court painter of Louis XIII, Philippe de Champagne, designed a series of windows which were carried out in glass by the glazier Soulignac. The designs were, in style, identical with Champagne's portraits in oils—full length figures in classical settings—but, when transferred to glass, they completely failed to achieve the outstanding success of his painted canvasses. In the following century, Sir Joshua Reynolds designed the great West window for the chapel in New College in the style of a Renaissance canvas, the medieval glass being removed to make room for this monument to eighteenth century taste. In the nineteenth century, Delecroix is responsible for many of the window designs in the Royal palaces of France composed in the grandiose style of classical oil-painting. Similar examples could be multiplied, but these should be sufficient to indicate the trend of taste from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century.

Since it was now the ambition of the glazier to capture the technique of the easel painter, he had recourse to means which further vitiated the quality of glass. A very common one was the use of transparent coloured enamels on clear glass. Indeed, " pot-metal " glass was seldom, if ever, used from the seventeenth century onwards. These enamels gave an almost complete polychromy in window painting and greatly enlarged the scope of realistic achievement, but with a great loss of luminosity in the glass, for the relatively opaque quality of the enamel had none of the brilliant translucence of glass stained *en masse*. For this reason the eighteenth century windows are dull and lifeless when compared with those of the twelfth

and thirteenth centuries. A further step towards pictorial veracity was the elimination of the leaded joinings. These were a perpetual worry to the eighteenth and nineteenth century designers, and, like poor relations, were kept out of sight as much as possible. Enamel painting allowed the use of large sheets of glass which minimized the need for " leading " but, when their use could not be avoided, they were camouflaged in the shadows of drapery or in the architectural outlines. How erroneous was this elimination of " leads " is well expressed by M. Henri Focillon in *The Life of Forms in Art :* " Without the " leads " not only would vitality of the form vanish, but the colours would converge into one one another and coloured light would replace radiant clarity."

The dominating influence of Renaissance and Baroque art persevered into the nineteenth century, and it was only when the first quarter of the century had almost passed that the new interest in Gothic architecture focussed attention on the value of the decorative arts associated with it. In France, it is to the architect Viollet-le-Duc that the restoration of glass design owes most. His wide and enlightened researches on the art of the Middle Ages filled him with a desire to preach the gospel of its beauty. The monumental *Dictionnaire Raisonné de l'Architecture Française,* as well as his extensive building and church restorations, give him without doubt the first place of honour in the revival of Gothic art in Europe. Almost two hundred pages of his dictionary are devoted to the art of stained glass ; his account still remains, after a hundred years, the most comprehensive and reliable study of the subject. His experiments in the execution of window designs, of which there are several examples in the church of Saint German l'Auxerrois in Paris, are definite proof of his understanding of the essentials of the art. An attempt to overcome the handicap of inferior material was made by opening a glass factory in 1826 at Choisy-le-Roi, where for the first time in France for well over a hundred years experiments were made in the manufacture of " pot-metal " glass. (With the closing of the Alsatian and Bohemian factories, in the seventeenth century, the manufacture of glass coloured *en masse* had virtually come to an end in Europe). Although the quality of the glass produced was at first far from perfect in its dead flawlessness and hard acidity of colour, there was gradually an improvement in both colour and texture, due to the researches into the manufacturing methods of the medieval craftsmen. The opening of this factory was undoubtedly the most important step in the movement for reform in the art of glass. Slowly as the century advanced, there was further improvement in both material and technique. With the coming of the nineteenth century the glass designer was greatly helped in a further clarification of the principles of composition through the experiments of the cubist and abstract schools of painting as well as by the knowledge derived from the earlier studies of Chintreuil and the Impressionists on the nature of colour

in its relation to light. The sterile quality of pastiche which had characterized the beginnings of the revival now gave place to designs in which the idiom of contemporary thought was expressed in perfect harmony with the exigencies of the material. The stained glass which fills so many of the " Chantiers " of Cardinal Verdier in Paris are convincing evidence of the strong vitality and freedom of expression which has again come back to French glass.

In England, a similar revival of interest in Gothic art took place about the same time as that in France. The stimulating and forceful character of the architect Augustus Pugin was the main source of inspiration in the movement of revival, but again, as in France, the movement in its earlier stages tended to a too close imitation of medieval models without a full understanding of the principles which underlay their design. This lack of knowledge was remedied, to some extent, by the publication of a book by Charles Winston on the art of stained glass ; it was the first work on the subject to be published in England. It appeared in 1847 under the title *An enquiry into the difference of style observable in ancient glass paintings especially in England : with hints on glass-painting.* But excellent and enlightening as it was, its influence was very limited for nineteenth century England was still very loath to accept anything which had the slightest savour of medieval Europe. A commentary on the taste of the period is the significant fact that, in the same year which saw the publication of Charles Winston's book, the National Gallery in London had only one example of the Italian Primitives, a panel by Lorenzo Monaco. Yet the seed sown by Pugin and Winston slowly germinated. In 1861 William Morris opened a workshop for glass designing, and amongst the artists who with himself provided designs were the Pre-Raphaelites, Dante Gabriel Rossetti and Sir Edward Burne-Jones. In spite of the sentimental romanticism of their designs which were mainly carried out in enamel stains, they succeeded to some extent in freeing glass from a complete bondage to the " picture window."

But another influence was now at work counteracting this attempt of the Pre-Raphaelites at reform, and it was a much more powerful one. Victorian England was so closely linked to nineteenth century Germany, through ties of blood and religion, that everything German became the fashion in England. German literature and music—Goethe and Wagner —became the standard of excellence. German art, especially religious art with its close affinity to English religious thought, was accepted without the qualms of conscience which sometimes followed an almost forced admission of excellence in French and Italian art. So it was, that when stained glass designs from workshops in Germany became available in England through commercial channels, they were received as models of perfection in the art. A workshop for the designing of stained glass had been set up in Munich by Ludwig I of Bavaria in 1827, and the

industry which resulted from this beginning remained centred in and around Munich. In style the glass produced still adhered to the traditions of the " picture window " of the eighteenth century. The designs, which aimed at pictorial veracity, necessitated the use of enamel staining with its lack of luminosity and brilliance of colour, while the minimum use of leading resulted in a want of strength in the design. Almost every rule which should guide the artist in his handling of stained glass was violated. As a consequence of the great activity in ecclesiastical building and decoration as a result of the passing of the Act of Emancipation, workshops for glass designing were now opened in England, many of them by craftsmen from Munich who followed the German tradition of designing. These workshops were run on better commercial lines than the smaller studios of men like William Morris. They were able to supply glass at a cheaper rate, and so their products captured the market. A comprehensive tour of the nineteenth and early twentieth century churches in England will produce abundant proof of the commercial success and artistic failure of " Munich " stained glass. Commercial glass from France was also imported, but although based on medieval models, through its execution in inferior materials and a weak application of leading, it failed to achieve the strength and iridescense which characterize medieval glass.

In Ireland the same standard of taste prevailed through the importation of both German and French glass until at the beginning of the present century a movement towards reform began to disturb the complacency with which their decadent standards had hitherto been accepted. This reform was mainly due to the enlightened energy of Edward Martyn of Tulira, Co. Galway, who, through his close contacts and sympathy with French cultural reform, was anxious to bring about a similar one in Ireland. One result of his endeavour in this direction was the founding of a studio for glass design under the management of Miss Sarah Purser, In this studio, which was named An Tur Gloine, Miss Purser brought together a group of artists whose work was based on the reforms of Viollet-le-Duc in France and of William Morris in England. To the work of this group may also be added that of the very brilliant young artist Harry Clarke, who had also broken away from the traditions of the Munich School, and was following the trend of French and English reform, though in an exceedingly mannered style, reminiscent of the art of Aubrey Beardsley. It is to him, as well as to the artists of An Tur Gloine, that the renaissance of glass design in Ireland owes its greatest debt. Isolated examples of their work can be seen in many Irish churches, but the extent of the achievement is best understood in such churches as the Cathedral at Loughrea, the Chapel of the Honan Hostel in Cork, and the College Chapels of Clongowes Wood and Tullabeg. Loughrea is especially interesting as illustrating the development of the movement, beginning with the work of Miss Purser and Mr. Childe, and passing on through that of Mr. McGolderick

and Michael Healy, until at the present day it ends with that of Miss Evie Hone. In the early and progressive stages of the movement, there was, as is usual in all such reforms, a tendency towards a too close imitation of earlier models, both medieval and Pre-Raphaelite, which led to a certain lifelessness through lack of original creation. This phase was succeeded by a gradual advance towards more original design but unfortunately it was accompanied by an almost childish delight in colour for its own sake, which resulted in its becoming an element of distraction rather than an aid to the main features of the design. But gradually these tendencies to pastiche and insubordination of colour grew less until in the present work of Miss Hone these blemishes are completely eliminated, being replaced by a quality of style that is both vital as well as restrained. In the design of the great east window for Eton College Chapel which Miss Hone has recently completed these characteristics of her work are superbly illustrated. The monumental simplicity of the composition compels attention with its directness of statement, while a straightforward use of the material employed without any attempt at camouflage or deception results in a great sincerity of expression. The leading or iron armatures are not disguised, nor is the brilliant translucence of the colour toned down in an attempt to achieve the illusion of a picture. The story of the design is told in terms of the medium employed. This quality of directness and sincerity in statement is augmented by the clarity of the glass and the strength of linear design. The simple, though adequate, painting of the glass produces clarity and translucence, while the articulation of rhythmic form gives an enhancement of vitality akin to that of a living organism. Unrelated and unnecessary details of decoration are eliminated as militating against the unity of the design which a harmony of colour in a wise limitation of range augments as well as a subordination of the whole composition to its architectural setting. By these means of unity and harmony there is produced a pervading sense of repose which disposes the mind to prayerful contemplation of the story told in the design which is the primary object of all religious art.

In this window the Irish Renaissance in glass design initiated by Edward Martyn over 50 years ago in the Tower of Glass has come to full and perfect flowering.

DANIEL SHIELDS

DEVOTION TO OUR LADY: OLD AND NEW

BY AUBREY GWYNN, S.J.

THE recent definition of the dogma of the Assumption is but one of many signs that devotion to Our Lady is becoming, with each new generation, a dominant characteristic of modern Catholic piety. Devotion to the Mother of God has never been limited to any one people, and it is indeed a fascinating study to watch the steady growth of that devotion through the nineteen centuries of Christian history. Just a hundred years ago Newman, who had come back from Rome to England and was busy organizing the two new houses of the Oratory in Birmingham and London, preached a famous sermon to the Catholics of Birmingham on " The Glories of Mary for the sake of her Son " " It became her, as a creature, a mother, and a woman, to stand aside and make way for the Creator, to minister to her Son, and to win her way into the world's homage by sweet and gracious persuasion. . . . No fierce controversy, no persecuted confessors, no haeresiarch, no anathema, were necessary for her gradual manifestation ; as she had increased day by day in grace and merit at Nazareth, while the world knew not of her, so has she raised herself aloft silently, and has grown into her place in the Church by a tranquil influence and a natural process. She was as some fair tree, stretching forth her fruitful branches and her fragrant leaves, and overshadowing the territory of the saints. And thus the Antiphon speaks of her : ' Let thy dwelling be in Jacob, and thine inheritance in Israel, and strike thy roots in my elect'."

Father Hubert du Manoir has planned an ambitious series of volumes, in which he has sought the collaboration of a large number of scholars for what can best be described as a critical historical survey of devotion to Our Lady from the days of the Apostles and Martyrs to our own time.[1] Each of the two large volumes that have been published so far runs to more than nine hundred pages ; and the series is planned to be complete in four large volumes. The first volume opens with two valuable essays on Our Lady's place in the Old and New Testaments. A Sulpician professor of Old Testament studies at the *Institut Catholique* of Paris gathers together the many texts which have been interpreted by later commentators and preachers as foreshadowing the part that Mary was to play in God's plan for the redemption and sanctification of the world ; but pays special attention to the few striking texts in which a literal interpretation recognizes, almost inevitably, a direct prophecy of the Woman who is to crush the head of the serpent, or of the Virgin Birth.

1 *Maria: Etudes sur la Sainte Vierge.* Sous la direction d'Hubert du Manoir, S.J. Vol. I (1949). Vol. II (1952). Paris: Beauchesne.

Canon Hilion, who is professor of Scripture at the Catholic University of Angers, deals with the many texts of the New Testament which are the foundation on which all true devotion to Our Lady must be based. Neither of these essays seeks to do more than restate in modern terms arguments that have been familiar to Christian commentators for many centuries.

It is very different when we pass to the chapters which deal with patristic literature, and with the evidence of the oldest liturgies in the East and in the West. Here the discovery of new literary texts and the revised study of older texts in the light of this new knowledge have made it possible to throw welcome light on the devotional background of early Christian literature. The account given by Canon Jouassard, professor of patristic theology at the Catholic Faculty of Lyons, of the animated controversies connected with the sessions of the Council of Ephesus is an excellent example of this type of work. Two recent studies on the theology of St. Cyril of Alexandria[1] have made it possible to place the famous definitions of this Council in their true perspective as a compromise between two extreme positions, each passionately defended by two opposing groups in Egypt and Syria. But there is more than patient reinterpretation here. A French scholar, M. L.Th. Lefort, who has discovered numerous Christian Coptic texts, some of them Coptic versions of encyclical letters by St. Athanasius, has been able to throw unexpected light on orthodox Catholic teaching in the Egyptian Church at a time when devotion to the Mother of God was gaining ground in Egypt as in Asia Minor. One minor discovery, which we owe to an English papyrologist, Dr. C. H. Roberts, is too little known outside the small number of specialist students. The volume of the *John Rylands Papyri*, which contained the famous second-century fragment of St. John's Gospel, contained also a short Greek text which is now recognized as perhaps the oldest witness to private devotion towards Our Lady that has so far been recovered from the sands of Egypt.[2] This is an incomplete fragment of what appears to be a private non-liturgical prayer, whose wording is strikingly similar to the familiar phrases of *Sub tuum praesidium confugimus, sancta Dei genetrix.* The expert papyrologists who were consulted as to the probable age of this fragment assigned it on technical grounds to the third century; but the theologians whose advice was also sought at Manchester refused to accept such a text as possible before the fourth century at earliest, and the editors of the volume have accordingly assigned it doubtfully to the fourth century. A Benedictine scholar, Dom. F. Mercenier, who

[1] H. du Manoir, S.J.: *Dogme et Spiritualité chez Saint Cyrille d'Alexandrie* (1944); and G. Jouassard: *L'activité littéraire de Saint Cyrille d'Alexandrie jusqu'à 428* (1945). Both works owe much to Schwartz's classic edition of the Acts of the Council (Berlin-Leipzig, 1922-29).

[2] *John Rylands Papyri*, vol. III (1938), p. 46.

has made a special study of such early texts, prefers the earlier date ; and has published a very interesting essay on this fragment as giving us the text of the oldest known prayer to Our Lady.[1] The wide interest attracted by the important new text of St. John's Gospel is no doubt one reason why the text of this prayer did not attract the attention of English scholars in 1938–9. Dom Mercenier's essay was not published until 1940, when intercourse with the Continent had been interrupted by the war. That is one more good reason why we should welcome these two volumes, which make so much highly specialized recent work available for the ordinary reader in a post-war world where books are increasingly rare and expensive.

The fact that popular devotion to *Theotokos* can be traced back to the third century in this way throws light on the famous outburst of popular sentiment which accompanied the definition of Mary's position as Mother of God at the Council of Ephesus. On the other hand, recent work on Nestorian and semi-Nestorian texts makes it possible to appreciate more readily the strength of resistance to a definition which asserted so uncompromisingly the union of two Natures in one Person. Canon Jouassard's account of the intrigues and controversies that preceded and followed the Council's sessions is a very lively narrative. Newman's rhetorical phrase that " no fierce controversy, no persecuted confessors, no haeresiarch, no anathema, were necessary for her gradual manifestation " needs to be qualified here as in the story of the Lutheran controversy of the sixteenth century. But Newman himself, sound patristic scholar as he was, must have been conscious that his phrase went beyond the limits of strict historical accuracy. Devotion to Our Lady has been, on the whole, a peaceful growth in the life of the Church ; but it has not been without contradiction.

The literary evidence for these early centuries can be supplemented in part by archaeological evidence, though the widespread destruction of early Christian images and mosaics, due to the iconoclast movement in the eighth century, has robbed us of many valuable monuments. The evidence of the Roman catacombs is thus of peculiar value, both by reason of their early date and also as witnesses to a devotion that was very largely Eastern in its sentiment and inspiration. Here Father du Manoir has sought assistance from M. Maurice Vloberg, who has made a special study of Byzantine and early Christian art. His two chapters on the representation of Our Lady in early Byzantine and Western art will be found in the first section of vol. II (Book V of the whole work). The famous mosaics that can still be admired in the Basilica of Maria Maggiore are an authentic and strictly contemporary Western monument of the devotion which had just found such striking expression in the

1 ' La plus ancienne prière à la Sainte Vierge,' in *Quaest. liturg. et par.* 25 (1940), p. 33-36.

decrees of the Council of Ephesus. The Council met in 431: the mosaics date from 432. The Pope who caused them to be erected—St. Sistus or Xystus III—was a member of the Roman clergy; though no doubt, like so many other Christians then living in Rome, of Eastern origin. His name and the dedication can still be read above the triumphal apse: *Xystus Episcopus plebi Dei.* The series of mosaic scenes are designed to instruct the faithful in the central mysteries connected with the Mother of God: from the Annunciation to the Flight into Egypt. To quote M. Vloberg's description: "If these compositions belong to Roman art, the sumptuous nature of the costumes and a ceremonial display (*une mise en scène protocolaire*) reveal the influence of the Byzantine court; but the pomp surrounding the Virgin Mother is designed above all to show forth her prerogatives in their full splendour."

We can go farther back in this artistic history of devotion to Our Lady. The two most familiar figures in the early art of the catacombs are the Good Shepherd and the Virgin *Orante.* There has been much discussion as to the precise symbolic value of the Virgin in this context. Does she represent Our Lady or the Christian Church at prayer? Or both? The artistic type is not Christian in origin, but hellenistic. But it was so obviously adapted to the purposes of Christian symbolism that it became popular, and remained popular long after the symbolic figure of the Good Shepherd had yielded place to other forms of art. The connection of the *Orante* with Our Lady, which cannot certainly be proved from the paintings in the catacombs, seems to be established from the survival of several glass cups or chalices, and fragments of others which have been found embedded in the cement of early *loculi.* Here the name MARIA or MARA is added to the figure of the *Orante* on cups, or fragments of cups, which archaeologists date from the middle of the third to the end of the fourth century.[1] We are thus brought back to the period at which, if we may trust the experts in papyrology, we find the first trace of a prayer that was later to become one of the most familiar antiphons in honour of the Mother of God.

Even earlier in date is a famous group, which was found in a funerary chamber (*cubiculum*) of the cemetery of Priscilla, on the Via Salaria Nova. The group is painted on the vaulted roof of the *loculus,* in a style akin to the familiar Græco-Roman paintings at Pompeii: archaeologists are inclined to date it as early as the first quarter of the second century.[2] Here the Virgin, seated, holds the Infant to her breast, whilst a young beardless man, wearing a *pallium,* holds a scroll in his left hand and points with his right hand to a star, with eight rays, that shines above the Virgin's head. The eight-rayed star seems to be a clear sign of the Infant's divinity; and the young prophet (for the scroll suggests a written

1 Dom H. Leclercq, in *Dict. d'Archéologie chrétienne* 10 (1932), col. 2001.
2 Mgr. Wilpert: *Die Malereien der Katakomben Roms* (1903) II, Plate 22.

xt) can hardly be other than Isaias. Other interpretations have been iven, for so ancient a witness to Christian faith in the Mother and Child ould not pass without contradiction. But there is nothing forced in the terpretation that would see in this venerable Christian monument symbol of the truth which is taught in the first chapter of St. Matthew's ospel.

It is tempting to linger over these early witnesses to Christian faith. mong the more exciting discoveries of recent exploration has been the covery of a whole series of paintings on the walls of a small basilica, ow known as S. Maria Antica, which the Popes of the sixth and seventh enturies (many of whom were of Greek or Syrian origin) constructed n what had formerly been the library of a Temple of Augustus adjoining ne palace of the Emperors. Here we find the oldest surviving witness o a type of the Queen-Virgin, throned in majesty with a crown of great plendour and many symbols of Byzantine courtliness, which bear witness o the Greek traditions of these early Popes. This earliest painting in . Maria Antica is no more than a fragment to-day, but is commonly ated to the end of the sixth century. Other paintings in the series which includes a well-known portrait of Pope Zachary, to whom Pepin wed his crown as king of the Franks) range from the seventh to the irteenth centuries. They form a gallery of Græco-Roman art, and are n impressive reminder of the place Our Lady held in the devotion of the oman clergy and faithful in what we now call the early Middle Ages. hey give us also the background to the ecclesiastical reforms of the arolingian age.

The East was ahead of the West in these centuries, though it is urious to note that Western theology before St. Augustine was in some oints more advanced than, for example, such a theologian as St. John hrysostom of Antioch—whose commentary on some of the texts oncerned with Our Lady in the Gospels was used with joy by Protestant heologians a thousand years later. But the great weight of St. Augustine's influence tended on the whole to hold back the development of Mariology n the Western Church, since the Doctor of Grace taught rigid doctrine n Original Sin. Hence the long controversies among Latin theologians hat preceded the common acceptance of the doctrine of the Immaculate onception, whilst in the East the argument *ex congruo* had influenced atholic thought and piety at a very much earlier date. The Eastern iturgies are indeed, to our Western sense, almost excessive in the praises hey give so freely to the Virgin Mother of God : it was here that the heologians who constructed our modern Office of the Immaculate onception found most of their ancient texts and homilies. But there s an undoubted splendour in the hymns of Romanos, the great Byzantine ymnologist, which are perhaps the noblest expression of this Eastern levotion. All the more pity that we have lost, thanks to iconoclast

fanaticism, what must have been so noble a gallery of early Byzantine art in praise of Our Lady.

The influence of Eastern liturgy on the West is a fascinating study. It will come as a surprise to students who are not specialists in this study that the official liturgy of the Roman Church had no feast in honour of Our Lady before the end of the seventh century. Praise of Mary was familiar in such offices as the Office of Christmas, with its continuation for the Epiphany; but the familiar major feasts of the Assumption, the Purification, the Nativity and the Annunciation were all absent until the reign of Pope Sergius I, an Oriental, who ordered the solemn celebration of all four feasts with public procession at some date between 687 and 701. A brief entry in the *Liber Pontificalis* is all that we know of this liturgical change which marks an epoch in the history of Western devotion to Our Lady. For evidence of earlier public devotion in other countries we have to search more widely, and find our clues in less authentic documents.

Quite recently a French monk of Quarr Abbey, Dom Louis Brou, has pointed out that Spain seems to have been the first country of Western Europe in which public liturgical prayers were addressed to Our Lady. He claims that the *Libellus Orationum*, which Giuseppe Bianchini, of the Oratory at Verona, published in 1741 from an eighth century manuscript, still in the library of the Cathedral of Verona, contains the text of the earliest liturgical prayers known to have been publicly recited in the Western Church.[1] Dom Brou has compared the language of these prayers with the extant sermons of the Spanish St. Ildefonsus, who died in 667 as Archbishop of Toledo, and whose exceptionally fervent cult of Our Lady was noted by the English liturgical scholar, Edmund Bishop, as anticipating in the seventh century the very much later private devotion fostered by St. Louis Grignon de Montfort under the name of the Slavery of Mary. We have here one of those unexpected parallelisms in the history of Catholic worship which remind us of the inner unity in continuity which is more commonly concealed by the constant growth and popularity of new devotions. Spanish influence on other Western liturgies (including the liturgy of the Old Irish Church) is a subject which has not yet found a competent historian. We may note here *en passant* that some of the invocations which occur in a twelfth-century Irish *Lauds of Mary*, which have been printed more than once under the misleading title *Old Irish Litany of Our Lady*, find their exact parallel in some homilies which have been attributed to St. Ildefonsus, though they are almost certainly of later date.[2] Edmund Bishop was fond

[1] 'Les plus anciennes prières liturgiques adressées à la Vierge en Occident,' in *Hispania Sacra* 3 (1950), p. 1-11.

[2] Angelo de Santi, S.J.: *Les Litanies de la Sainte Vierge* (French tr. by A. Boudinhon: Paris, 1900), p. 6-7.

of alluding to the existence in Irish liturgical books of what he, and Cardinal Mercati, have termed "Spanish symptoms." Here is one of the many minor puzzles which needs to be cleared up by a more detailed study of Western liturgies as a whole.

Dom Brou, in arguing that the *Libellus Orationum* is a collection of public prayers addressed to Our Lady, is careful to point out that hymns and antiphons were sung in her honour long before the custom of addressing public prayers to her was admitted as a correct liturgical practice. The surviving texts that give us some knowledge of the lost Gallican liturgy show plainly that Gallican usage, before the Romanising reforms imposed by Charles the Great, was more exuberant in the public worship of Our Lady than was customary in the more conservative Roman usage. Here again, as in Spain, we may suspect direct influence from the East, to which Rome finally yielded in the pontificate of a Greek Pope. None of the scholars whom Father du Manoir has chosen as contributors to these two volumes has stressed the significance of Spanish custom in this development of liturgical tradition; and I may add that the undoubtedly early development of a very tender devotion to Our Lady in the Anglo-Saxon church is here similarly ignored.

Before we pass to later chapters on the growth of medieval devotions, I must call attention to a series of chapters in Volume I, which set forth in great detail the liturgical witness of the Greek or Byzantine Church (by Father S. Salaville, a French Assumptionist Father), the Syro-Maronite Church (by a professor of the University of St. Joseph at Beyrut), the Chaldaean Church (by a French Dominican Father), the Armenian Church (by an Armenian priest of the Institute of Bzommar in the Lebanon), and the Ethiopian Church (by M. Nollet of the Sorbonne). These chapters, as might be expected, bear witness to a vigorous and widely spread cult of Our Lady in a rich variety of language and liturgical form. In Volume II lovers of the Gregorian Chant will find a careful study of Our Lady's place in the Church's official music, written by Dom Joseph Gajard of Solesmes. M. Norbert Dufourcq, who is Professor of the History of Music at the Conservatoire National, has made an effort to compile a brief sketch of the history of music in honour of Our Lady, with the collaboration of Mlle. Sylvie Spycket. But the influence of so widespread and popular a devotion on each of the arts, and very specially on the arts of painting and sculpture, is too vast a subject for a book of this kind. And it must be added that the few illustrations that Father du Manoir has been able to print in each of these two volumes are hardly worthy of their subject.

Two great names stand as spokesmen and guides to the later development of Western devotion to Our Lady: the Italian St. Anselm, and the Frenchman St. Bernard. So great indeed has been St. Bernard's fame as panegyrist of the Mother of God that there is danger of distorting

the true history of this development by centring the whole movement of the twelfth century round his name. Some very beautiful meditations of St. Anselm (which the late Dom Wilmart taught us all to cherish) should remind students of that most movingly human and loveable saint that devotion to Our Lady was fostered with loving prayer in Italy, France and England before St. Bernard added the great impetus of his fervent eloquence. The second of these two volumes contains a chapter on Benedictine devotion to Mary which has been written by the French Benedictine monk of Clervaux, Dom J. Leclercq, who has been engaged for many years on a new critical edition of the writings of St. Bernard of Clairvaux. St. Anselm is here the greatest name; but the tradition of Cluny, and in particular the writings of Cluny's last great abbot, Peter the Venerable, are worthy of respectful study. The twin traditions of Cîteaux and Clairvaux are here set forth by two French Cistercian scholars, with a full account of the part played by St. Bernard in what amounted almost to a transformation of contemporary religious life. I must confess, however, that I have read with deeper, because wholly unexpected, interest an admirable chapter on the cult of the Blessed Virgin in the Carthusian order.

Dom Yves Gourdel of the Grande Chartreuse must have given long years to this study, for his essay of more than forty pages contains a wealth of detail from sources that are largely unknown to the average student of Catholic history. There is something exceedingly touching in the childlike confidence of the first monks who made choice of the austere *massif* of the Chartreuse as the site of their new home. Their first huts were swept away by an avalanche with loss of seven lives in January, 1132, less than fifty years after the first settlement had been made by St. Bruno and his companions. It became a fixed tradition of the order (which was later imitated by both the Cistercians and the Premonstratensians) that every house of the order should be dedicated to Our Lady, and Dom Gourdel takes pleasure in reciting the litany of Marian titles which thus came into being. One Charterhouse was the Gate of Our Lady, another her House, her Castle, her Cloister, her Cell, her Temple, her Court, her Chapel. Others took the name of her Mountain, her Valley, her Park, her Garden, her Fountain, her Stream, her Harbour, her Rose, her Crown. The mysteries of Mary's life, her virtues, the doctrines connected with her cult; every aspect of Mary's life was commemorated in one or other of the two hundred and more Charterhouses that were scattered across so many countries of Western Europe. Ireland must be one of the few countries where this gracious influence was never felt.

Carthusian devotion to Our Lady was destined to play an important part in propagating what has become perhaps the most popular of all private devotions in honour of Mary: the Rosary. There is no need

o recall here the long and often heated controversies that have been occasioned by the study of the origins and early history of this simple orm of prayer. In the second of these two volumes, almost immediately fter Dom Gourdel's essay on the Carthusian traditions, Father André Duval of the famous French Dominican priory and house of studies, e Saulchoir in Belgium, has contributed an equally admirable essay n the traditions of his order in all that concerns the honour of Mary. Here again the tradition goes back to the very beginnings of the movement rom which the Friars Preachers came into existence as a separate order f the Catholic Church. But the personal share of St. Dominic in propagating the devotion of the Rosary, though it has been so often nd so vehemently defended by earlier Dominican writers, is here placed n a more reasonable perspective. Father Duval writes as an expert in his chapter of Dominican history, and he has no difficulty in illustrating he fervent devotion of the first Dominican friars to the person of Mary; ut he accepts, without question and almost without modification, the hesis which the late Father Herbert Thurston defended with such enacity concerning the history of the Rosary of Our Lady. Indeed, he numerous articles which Father Thurston published in *The Month* 1900, 1901 and 1908) are here listed in a short, but carefully selected, ibliography of critical works on this historical problem.

Father Duval makes it plain that the modern tradition which ttributes the origin of the Rosary to the personal teaching and example f St. Dominic is due to a confusion in the mind of a Breton Dominican reacher of the late fifteenth century, Alain de la Roche. Alain popularized simple practice of reciting *Paters* and *Aves* in decades, counted on eads and associated with the mysteries of Our Lady's life, which had een used and popularized by a Carthusian monk, Father Dominic of Trèves, in the early fifteenth century. Dominic entered the Charterhouse f Trèves in 1409, and his custom of reciting what we now call the Rosary n honour of Our Lady was used by some of his fellow-monks as well s by his own personal penitents. Alain de la Roche made the mistake f assuming that this Dominic was the great saint who had founded his wn order of Friars Preachers in the thirteenth century. From that onfusion much controversy has arisen. It is immensely to the credit f the French Dominican Fathers that they here give their formal and ublic adhesion to a view that has been so long contested, and in all ood faith, by so many of their brethren in the past three hundred years. As Father Duval wisely says in the last words of his essay: "Truth s always finer than legend." And there can be no doubt at all that the Dominican Fathers, from the time of Alain de la Roche to our own day, ave been foremost in popularizing this devotion of the Rosary, and ave done untold good by organizing and promoting the Confraternity f the Holy Rosary—which was to be a source of strength to Irish

Catholics, as it has been to countless others, in the bitter trials of Elizabethan and Cromwellian persecutions.

Students of the history of Catholic doctrine will turn perhaps with greater interest to the section in which Father Duval sets forth the part assigned to the Mother of God in the theology of St. Albert and St. Thomas; whilst a French Capuchin scholar, Father Jean de Dieu, has the privilege of narrating all that the Franciscan doctors have done for the development of Catholic Mariology, most notably in their defence and elucidation of the controverted doctrine concerning the privilege of Our Lady's Immaculate Conception. A whole section of this work is planned as a series of tributes from each religious order to Mary, whom each order in turn has honoured and loved as Protectress and Queen. Father E. Villaret, who was for so many years Director of the central Secretariat of the Sodality of Our Lady (*Prima Primaria*) in Rome, writes of the part played by Jesuit preachers and schoolmasters in the organization of this very practical apostolate in honour of Our Lady during the great century of the Counter-Reformation. There are also separate chapters on the Mariology of such famous theologians as Gerson, the Chancellor of the University of Paris in the late fourteenth century; Suarez, the most famous of Jesuit theologians; and the great Christian humanist of the seventeenth century, St. Francis de Sales.

Since the two volumes that have been published are no more than the first half of a work that is still in progress, I shall make no effort to summarize the chapters which deal with the special devotions characteristic of so many European countries. This section is still plainly far from complete, some of the chapters being little more than essays on the part played by Our Lady in the literature of France or Germany or England or Spain or Italy, whilst others seek to convey some notion of the influence that private devotion to Our Lady has had on the social and religious life of Europe as a whole. M. Gustave Cohen writes with great learning of French medieval literature, and argues that the familiar name of Notre Dame (Our Lady) was first used by French courtly poets of the twelfth century.[1] Father Martindale has some interesting comments on the change that has come over modern English life, so that the thought and memory of Our Lady which inspired English poets as late as the nineteenth century (Gerard Manly Hopkins being only the most recent of many others) seems to have lost its power in a generation which has turned from romanticism to a complicated and subjective symbolism, too often cynical, but as often tragically conscious of the spiritual values that seem to be lost for ever. What he has written comes from a fine understanding of the English mind and mood, and leaves the reader sad, but thoughtful.

[1] He finds the first use of this title, but in a context that suggests a conscious innovation, in *Les Miracles de Notre Dame* of Adgar (xii s.).

A word must be said by way of conclusion on the more strictly dogmatic section of the first volume of this work. Here I must confess that I have found this section of the work somewhat disappointing. Suarez gave in his treatise *De mysteriis vitae Christi*, which was planned as a commentary on the *Pars Tertia* of the *Summa* of St. Thomas, a formal treatise on the part played by Our Lady in the Divine Providence for man's salvation and sanctification which has been claimed as the first scientific treatment of what is now termed Mariology in modern Catholic theology. We might fairly expect that these two volumes, which have been edited by a Jesuit Father and which contain contributions from so many distinguished Catholic theologians, would include a systematic survey of the many problems connected with Marian theology. Eight chapters of the first volume are devoted to these problems, but they are far from giving a complete survey of the whole field. There is a short chapter on the Assumption, written before the recent definition by Father M. Jugie, an Assumptionist Father who is now professor of theology in the University of the Lateran. The absence of any essay on the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception is most surprising ; and there seems to have been no effort to plan this section as a whole, basing its doctrine, as Suarez based his treatise, on the single central doctrine of the Divine Maternity. The last of these eight chapters is an *Essai de synthèse mariale*, in which a Dominican professor of theology, Father M. J. Nicholas, stresses the importance of this central doctrine ; and the first chapter of the eight is a remarkably full and well-documented study of the doctrine of Mary's universal mediation, written by a Belgian Jesuit professor, Father E. Druwé. Here we find ourselves drawn backwards through the Christian centuries to the age of St. Irenaeus, the age which has given us some of the earliest monuments of devotion to Our Lady which have been mentioned in the first pages of this article. The thought of Mary as the Second Eve, associated with her Son in the work of Redemption, is familiar in his teaching ; and the Popes of the twentieth century, who have taught so plainly the truths that are implicit in the doctrine of Mary's work as co-redemptrix, sharing in her Divine Son's universal mediation, are thus repeating in modern language and with more explicit argument truths that have nourished the piety of the Catholic faithful from the first age of the Church.

AUBREY GWYNN

REVIEWS

Sacred Scripture

THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS. By A. Dupont-Sommer. Translated by E. Margaret Rowley. Oxford: Blackwell. 1952. Pp. 100. 7s. 6d.

This little book is an English translation of a French work, *Aperçus préliminaires sur les Manuscrits de la Mer Morte* (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1950), from the pen of A. Dupont-Sommer, Professor at the Sorbonne, Director of Studies at the École des Hautes Études. As we have no similarly detailed account of these most important discoveries in a single English work, Miss Rowley deserves our gratitude for her excellent translation and the copious information which it provides. M. Dupont-Sommer not only describes the texts discovered, but seeks to establish their date and significance. Before discussing his views on these points a brief account of the nature and extent of the discoveries must be given.

In the spring of 1947 a Bedouin goat-herd accidentally discovered in a cave about a mile west of the northern end of the Dead Sea seven rolls of skin or leather wrapped in linen and enclosed in jars sealed with pitch. The writing on one side of the rolls, unintelligible to the discoverer, was subsequently found to be in square characters, similar to, but more archaic than, those of our modern Hebrew Bibles. The language of six of the texts was Hebrew, that of the seventh Aramaic. Three of the rolls were purchased by Professor Sukenik of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, four by Mar Athanasius, the Syrian Metropolitan. The latter showed his treasures to Dr. Trever of the American School at Jerusalem, allowed him to photograph three of them, column by column, and finally to send photographs and MSS. for safety to America, as Jerusalem was then in the throes of war. To this fortunate American intervention we owe the speedy publication of the three most important discoveries: a complete pre-Masoretic text of the Book of Isaias and a text and commentary of the first two chapters of the Book of Habacuc, published at New Haven in 1950, and the Manual of Discipline, containing the laws and institutions of a Jewish sect, which appeared in 1951. The fourth roll, still undeciphered, has an Aramaic text, identified from fragments with the apocryphal book of Lamech. The three Sukenik MSS., of which only extracts have so far appeared in two Hebrew volumes, are a text of part of Isaias, ch. xli–lxvi, a collection of Psalms of Thanksgiving replete with allusions to biblical passages, and a treatise on military organization generally called the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness. Missing fragments or leaves of the Manual of Discipline, the incomplete book of Isaias and the Aramaic book of Lamach were subsequently acquired by the Palestinian Museum at Jerusalem from a Jerusalem dealer, and are still unpublished. With the seven scrolls some fragments of the book of Daniel were also discovered. In February, 1949, an archaeological investigation of the cave revealed about 600 fragments of MSS., of which four or five were biblical and a few apocryphal, as well as pieces of about fifty jars. Some of the fragments belonged to one or other of the seven scrolls[1]. It now became clear that the MSS. and fragments discovered were the remains of a large library which had been cached in the cave and already rifled of most of its contents. The study of the scrolls showed that they originally belonged to a party of Jews who had detached themselves from the main body in view of a more perfect observance of the law. This party or sect was already known to us from the so-called Damascus Document, a Hebrew text of uncertain date discovered in 1896 in the *genizah* or lumber-room of a Cairo synagogue, as exiled from Palestine and resident in Damascus. There

[1] All the fragments are being prepared for publication by Père de Vaux, O.P.

re many points of contact between this document and the Manual of Discipline. Both require, for instance, as a qualification for office in the sect, a knowledge of he book of Hagu. It would seem, therefore, that the occasion of the cache was the xpulsion of the sect from Palestine. The cave was a temporary hiding-place, not library or book-room. Archives might be kept in sealed jars, but not books in onstant use like the Isaias roll, repeatedly patched.

The date of the scrolls is still disputed. Most scholars now assign them either o the last century B.C. or the first century A.D. The complete text of Isaias and he Manual of Discipline are certainly older than the four other Hebrew scrolls. The use of special forms for five Hebrew letters when they end a word is still in n initial stage in these two texts, but is fully developed in the four others as well is in the Nash papyrus, which can hardly be later than the first century A.D. All he jars and two lamps found in the cave are adjudged by archaeologists to the Hellenistic period. Their latest possible date would seem to be the end of the second or beginning of the first century B.C. Two similar jars discovered in Egypt are dated by their contents: one in the beginning, the other towards the end, of he second century B.C. The archaic form of the letters has also suggested a second or early first century B.C. date to some eminent scholars. This argument, however, is disputed and less conclusive owing to the lack of similar dated scripts with which the scrolls can be compared. All Hebrew texts of the same general period have perished or been destroyed except the MT. of the Bible, definitely fixed about 100 A.D. Thus the recent discoveries have given us not only Hebrew biblical texts a thousand years older than our earliest Hebrew MSS., but also a number of Hebrew non-biblical texts revealing to us a hitherto unknown period of Hebrew literature.

According to M. Dupont-Sommer the real significance of the new discoveries is not scriptural or linguistic, but historical. It consists of the information which they give us about a religious movement in Palestine of which he seeks to determine the date and the importance. Now the commentator of Habacuc interprets the prophecies in terms of contemporary history, either as recently fulfilled or to be fulfilled in the near future. He is particularly concerned with the clash between the "Wicked Priest," apparently the non-levitical and illegitimate high-priest of the period, and the "Master of Justice," the founder and head of the sect to whom the scrolls belonged. As no personal names are given, the date of the struggle can only be determined by a reference in the commentary to some known historical event. The author finds such a reference to the capture of Jerusalem by Pompey in 63 B.C. in the following passage: "*Woe to him who makes his neighbour drink, pouring out his anger and also intoxicating drinks, so that God may see their feasts*! (Hab. ii, 15). The explanation of this refers to the Wicked Priest who has persecuted the Master of Justice so as to swallow him up in the heat of his anger. Thou hast dared to strip him of his clothing; but at the moment of the sacred rest of the Day of Atonement he appeared to them all resplendent, to swallow them up and to cause them to stumble on the Day of the Fast which for them is a sabbath rest."

It is clearly not the text, even thus translated, but M. Dupont-Sommer, who assumes that the punishment inflicted on the Wicked Priest by the Master of Justice was the capture of Jerusalem by Pompey on the Day of Atonement. However, this may be, a correct interpretation of the passage entirely excludes allusion to that event. The fundamental error of the translator is the rendering *God* of the Hebrew word *el*. It is really a preposition, not only because the verb which it immediately follows is commonly connected with its object by the preposition *el*, but also because the Masoretic Text has another preposition *al* in the same place. It is therefore the wicked man, not God, who observes the feasts of his neighbours,

and consequently in the commentary it is the Wicked Priest who observes malevolently the feast of the Master of Justice and his followers, not *vice versa*. In the commentary " thou hast dared " should be corrected to " he desired " and " all resplendent" should be omitted since the verb " appeared " has for subject not God but a wicked person as in Ecclesiasticus xii, 15.

A positive refutation of the attribution of the events recorded to the Roman period is the frequent mention of the Kittim, undoubtedly the Greeks, as the foreign enemies of the Jews. Only once in Dan. xi, 30, does this name designate the Romans. Here, however, Daniel merely retains an ancient term occurring in a text, Num. xxiv, 23, which he cites and where it certainly does not indicate the Romans. In I Mac. written about 100 A.D., Kittim indicates the Greeks even as opposed to the Romans. It has the same meaning in the earlier apocryphal book of Jubilees. In the scroll, describing the military organization of the sect, Egyptian Kittim and Syrian Kittim, evidently the Lagids and the Seleucids, are mentioned. The latter were the foreign enemies of the Jews in the century preceding the Roman conquest.

M. Dupont-Sommer finds the chief significance of the recent discoveries in the religious movement which they record and which he believes to be similar to, nay, even the source of the Christian movement. " It is from the womb of this spiritual ferment that Christianity, the New Testament, emerged." But does not the military organization of the sect show the affinity of the movement with Jewish national messianism and sharply differentiate it from the Christain movement, essentially pacifist and universal? The Master of Justice, we are told, abolished the original militarism and introduced pacifism. Against this assumption, however, is the survival of the same military organization, after our scrolls were written and cached, among the exiled sectaries at Damascus. The pacifism of the Master of Justice fits in remarkably with the parallelism imagined by M. Dupont-Sommer between the founder of the sect and the founder of Christianity. Like Christ the Master of Justice was God, became incarnate, was judged, tortured and put to death, and rose again from the dead. His divinity and resurrection are deduced from the text and commentary of Hab. ii, 15, cited above. He corresponds with " God " in the text and his resplendent appearance in the commentary indicates his resurrection. " What an extraordinary apotheosis ! " says the author. We come to the same conclusion, as there is no mention of God in the text, and it is the Wicked Priest who appeared in the commentary. The judgement, torture and death of the Master of Justice are supposed to be recorded in the commentary on Hab. ii, 7. Only the last two lines of this comment are extant and the name of the sufferer is not given. It seems more probable, at least, that here, as in the comment on the following verse, the punishment of the Wicked Priest is announced. The expression " body of flesh," applied to Christ in Col. i, 22, and found in the above truncated comment, is the proof of the Incarnation. It appears also in Col. ii, 11, and Eccli. xxiii, 23, as a mere designation of the material part of man. M. Dupont-Sommer has also discovered " a trinitarian theology " in the following text of the Damascus Document, "God through his Anointed One has made us to know his holy spirit " ; in other words : God has revealed himself to us through his Messias. Comment on such specimens of exegesis is superfluous.

EDMOND POWER

JOHN WHO SAW. By A. H. N. Green-Armytage. London : Faber and Faber. 1952. Pp. 182. 10s. 6d.

THE subtitle of this book well describes its scope and content. It is a " Layman's essay on the authorship of the fourth Gospel," and as such it is extremely valuable : a book that should not be missed. The advance of knowledge in any given field

seems to require a double process. First, the man of erudition carefully analyses the material, often with a view to establishing a personal theory of his own. As erudite monographs increase in number the problem often seems to become more and more obscure. Real knowledge grows only when a man of great mental power and very wide reading sums up the work of his predecessors and gives a clear and thoughtful exposition of the conclusions which emerge from all that work. This is precisely the ambitious task which Mr. Green-Armytage has set himself and which he has brought to a brilliant conclusion.

There is no atmosphere of controversy about this book. The author does not attempt to prove or disprove the traditional or any other position on the question of who wrote the fourth Gospel. He is merely an interested enquirer who wishes to find out what is now the state of the question as a result of the painstaking labours of modern critical scholars. All the main points of the age-old problem are touched on briefly and succintly; external and internal evidence, John and the Synoptic Gospels, John the Presbyter, etc.; and our appreciation of all these points is immeasurably sharpened by his shrewd and sensible comments. He finally comes to the conclusion that the Gospel according to St. John was written by St. John the Apostle. As far as its content is concerned, this is a book which can be unreservedly recommended to Catholic students of the Bible.

There are, however, a few phrases or forms of expression which seem to call for comment. On p. 55 the author writes that he does not wish to assert that St. John " never erred in the minutest detail of his narration nor that he reports the discourses of Jesus with the fidelity of Hansard." No Catholic will admit that St. John erred in any detail whatever of his narration. The Doctrine of the inerrancy of Scripture admits of no exception. One can, however, hold that St. John did not wish to vouch for some of the minute details which he records, and consequently that we have no guarantee that those details occurred exactly as they are recorded. To say that an author does not guarantee the minute details of his narrative is not the same as admitting that he may have erred in composing it. Error implies the formal assertion and guaranteeing of these inacurracies, and this St. John did not do. On the other hand, we can readily admit that St. John does not always report Our Lord's discourses with the fidelity of Hansard. We have no reason to believe that the Greek text of St. John corresponds word for word with the Aramaic discourse actually pronounced by Our Lord. What we do know is that the Greek text of St. John conveys to us accurately the teaching which Our Lord wished to impart.

On p. 60 Mr. Green-Armytage includes the Book of Wisdom in a class of writings which he describes as " Pseudonymous apocrypha." In referring to this book as one of the apocrypha, Mr. Green-Armytage merely follows the tradition of the Church of England as it is formulated in the XXXIX Articles, and manifests one of the habitual assumptions of his thought. It is not a proposition which he submits for acceptance to his readers, and is in no way relevant to his carefully balanced argument at this point of his book. It is doubtless unnecessary to note that Catholics, following the apostolic tradition of the Church of Alexandria, admit the Book of Wisdom into the canon of inspired Scriptures. Again, although the Book of Wisdom is listed in the Greek bible as Σοφία Σαλωμων, it is quite certain that it was not composed by King Solomon. It does, however, seem a little excessive to describe it as pseudonymous. This suggests a certain element of deception, whereas at the period at which it was composed the attribution of a book of this class to King Solomon was the most transparent of conventions.

Finally, on p. 135, the author writes " the canon (of scripture) which has stood for over a thousand years is not likely to be changed now." We would agree that the

canon is not likely to be changed, not because it has stood for a thousand years, but because it has been defined by an infallible and irrevocable decree of the Council of Trent. As will be seen immediately, these are really very minor points, indeed, and will not, I hope, diminish in any way the confidence due to Mr. Green-Armytage as a sure and reliable guide through the mazes of the Johannine problem.

The author's treatment of some of the more controversial aspects of his subject is a masterpiece of accuracy and concision, and will be of interest even to those who do not agree with all his conclusions. This is especially true of the chapters consecrated to question of the relationship of the fourth Gospel to the synoptics and the particularly thorny problem of John the Presbyter.

As we have come to take for granted in the publications of Messrs. Faber and Faber, the printing and production of this book are beyond praise.

PATRICK W. SIMPSON

THE ORIGINALITY OF ST. MATTHEW. A Critique of the Two-Document Hypothesis. By B. C. Butler, Abbot of Downside. Cambridge University Press. 1951. 18s.

THE first three Gospels form a definite group, well marked off from St. John. It is usual to call them the Synoptics, because they agree so constantly in choice and arrangement of matter that they can and must be studied by means of a parallel disposition of their texts which gives a "synoptical" view of all three at once. The explanation of their agreements and disagreements forms the "Synoptic Problem" which has exercised New Testament scholars for nearly two centuries. Before discussing Dom Butler's contribution to a field of study which must always be fruitful for the understanding of the Gospels, we recall briefly the chief data. Nearly all Mark is found also in Matthew and Luke, or in one of them. Beyond Mark, Matthew and Luke have some 240 verses in common, mostly discourse, and a fourth of Matthew and a third of Luke is proper to their respective gospels. The matter common to all three or any two is given practically in the same order, and that order is not dictated by natural details of chronology: it consists of more or less artificial groupings, subordinated, of course, to the great historical and geographical settings. Further, though the wording of the common sections, especially where Our Lord's words are reported, shows remarkable similarity, it often varies considerably from gospel to gospel. Nor are the divergences confined to unimportant details. A solution of the literary problem thus offered must account not merely for the coincidences in matter, order and wording, but also for the discrepancies. The one assured result of research has seemed to most scholars, Catholic and non-Catholic, to be the originality of Mark, and the dependence of the Greek Matthew, and Luke, on Mark for the narrative, and on a common source, the "Logian Document" or "Q," for the non-Marcan matter, mostly discourse, common to both. The Catholic scholars who range themselves on this side hold in general that, as the external evidence demands, this Logian Document is the Greek version of the Aramaic gospel of St. Matthew, and that its full extent is to be gauged from its substantial identity with the Greek Matthew, whose translator used Mark. With this proviso, it may be said that most scholars agree that the literary relations of the Synoptics are to be explained by the presence of two sources, Mark and Q, in the formation of the Greek Matthew and Luke.

Simple and satisfactory though this solution appears in the main, as its wide, though not universal, acceptance testifies, it by no means answers all difficulties, and it is proposed in an infinite variety of forms. Instead of adding a new modification, Dom Butler rejects it completely, to return to a solution which he claims

is as simple and far more concrete, inasmuch as it does not appeal to a document whose precise contents must always be a matter of conjecture, but relies on the three existing documents alone. Deriving Mark and Luke from Matthew, he denies flatly the need of Q and the use of Mark by the Greek Matthew. The divergences in the non-Marcan synoptic material common to Matthew and Luke can be explained by Luke's private purposes and resources. Thus he challenges a position almost as widely held as the two-sources theory itself: that Luke did not use the Greek Matthew. Then, since the relations between the narrative of Matthew and Mark are such as to make it certain that either Matthew knew Mark or vice-versa, he attacks the even more strongly entrenched position, that Mark is not derivable from Matthew. The argument in both cases is urged with such resources of fine scholarship and subtle insight that it cannot but be welcome and enlightening.

Conceding Luke's knowledge of Mark, with which all will agree, Dom Butler begins by examining five sets of key passages parallel in the three gospels, where there seems to be no possibility of Matthew or Luke depending on Mark, and concludes from "the significant agreements of Matthew and Luke against Mark, and the relative absence of agreements of Mark and Luke against Matthew," to the dependence of Luke on Matthew. The argument is cautiously and completely envisaged, and the criterion must be accepted as fundamental in synoptic studies. Dom Butler would be justified in demanding that "forthwith and finally" the Q hypothesis be dismissed, and the dependence of Luke on Matthew be admitted, if he could, indeed, prove indisputably that the agreements of Luke with Matthew are really "significant" and that the agreements of Luke with Mark may be dismissed as "relatively" insignificant. But here is the fundamental difficulty, which affects much of the argument, and is intrinsic to all studies of the problem. The significance of agreement or disagreement may strike different readers differently. The present reviewer cannot feel, in the first passage, for instance (the parable of the mustard-seed) that there is much significance in the fact that Matthew and Luke agree in the formula, "the kingdom of God is like . . .", against Mark's "How shall we liken the kingdom of God?" The formula common to the two is a standard way of introducing a parable, and as likely to be independent as derivative in either. Again: a relative absence of agreements can only be conceded when it is clear that such agreements as are present may be disregarded as unimportant. Now, Luke and Mark, against Matthew, begin the section with a double question; this single fact may seem to some to outweigh the remaining absence of agreement, and deprive Dom Butler's argument of its force, in spite of his efforts to explain it away. The treatment of all five passages is subject to the same reserve.

Dom Butler's next main argument is that an examination of Q shows Luke as echoing Matthew or giving the passages in a less original form, where he varies. Here he seems to rely to a great extent on Harnack, and to take too little account of the re-consideration of the data as presented by later scholars, such as the Catholic J. Schmid. In spite of all that Dom Butler so subtly and forcefully says in favour of Matthew's originality, it can hardly be said that the case is proved in many crucial instances. And, of course, once Luke's originality appears, Q must be resurrected in one form or another, since Luke cannot be supposed to have derived his "original" form from the "secondary" Matthew. Particularly unfortunate is Dom Butler's treatment of the Beatitudes. They are eight in Matthew, four in Luke; but Luke's four are immediately paralleled by four contrasting "Woes" in poetical form. For many reasons, Luke is generally held to be more primitive. To meet the difficulty, Dom Butler suggests—very tentatively, it is true—that Luke perhaps

composed the " Woes " (on the basis of authentic material, of course). And this though one of his recurring arguments is that Luke always spoils Semitic poetry ! Here, however, he may have written poetry like a psalmist ! Alternatively, he suggests that Luke derived his version from a private Aramaic source. But that is again against his own principles, since he forbids the appeal to a document like Q to supplement Q. Then, in his " Further Evidence," he fails, for instance, to explain satisfactorily the fulness and exactness of Luke's version of the healing of the centurion's servant, in contrast to Matthew's. For he appeals once more to a document exactly like Q to maintain that there is no need of Q. A third instance must suffice. Luke 12 : 41 reads : " And Peter said to Him, Lord, dost Thou speak this parable to us, or likewise to all ? " The speaker and his question interrupt a discourse paralleled in Matthew, but in Matthew the verse is missing. It cannot then have come to Luke from Matthew, and the conclusion is that it came from the source common to both. Dom Butler, however, asserts that Our Lord's statement, " What I say to you I say to all : watch," Mk. 13 : 57 (from the eschatological discourse towards the end of the gospel) " has been metamorphosed into a question put into St. Peter's mouth," p. 55. He claims that such solutions as this show how " intimacy with St. Luke's psychology and editorial practice enables us to perceive that Q is indistinguishable from Matthew," p. 56. But has Dom Butler's thesis then the " simplicity " which he claims for it ? Some may think that such solutions are counsels of despair.

The second main phase of the argument is to show how Mark may be (fundamentally) derived from Matthew. He argues very ably that there are many places where Mark's version pre-supposes Matthew for its proper context and understanding. The present reviewer, however, cannot see that a literary dependence is proved, though it undoubtedly follows that a reading of Matthew is most helpful for the interpretation of Mark. The fullest gospel cannot but throw light on its parallels. But all must be deeply grateful to Dom Butler for the added force which he gives to the contention of many scholars (Lagrange, Merk, etc.) that Matthew, even in Marcan contexts, cannot possibly derive solely from Mark. But the derivation of Mark from Matthew, in the opinion of the reviewer, breaks down at many crucial points. One instance may suffice. In the parable section, Our Lord says, according to Mark 4 : 11f, " To you (disciples) it is given to know the mystery of the Kingdom of God, but to them that are without, all comes in parables : that ' seeing they may see and not perceive ' " etc. To maintain that this is not the original form of the saying, Dom Butler interprets it in the light of Matthew (which is surely begging the question), and thus is enabled to treat it as an excerpt from the Matthaean version. But his exegesis is questionable on many grounds, not the least of which is that he accuses Mark of mistaking a " *quia* " meaning " because " for a " *quia* " *recitantis*. Worst of all is that he in fact gravely misinterprets Mark, and thus eliminates one of the most profound and terrible sayings of the gospel. Our Lord in Mark states that the blindness of the Jews ultimately is willed by God. In Matthew, the guilt of the Jews is stressed as the *reason* of the parables ; that is another aspect, but Mark makes it clear that the blindness of the Jews is the *object* of the parables, i.e. is willed by God. It is a doctrine as mysterious as it is fundamental (*cf.* with Is. 6 : 9, Is. 28 : 13 in the Old Testament, Rom. 9 : 33 in the New, for instance). And, while it raises grave theological problems, it does not call for the incredulous exclamation-mark with which Dom Butler rules it out of order (p. 91). It seems to the present reviewer that the elimination of such doctrine is too high a price to pay for the derivation of Mark from Matthew.

Having given proof of Mark's editorial work on his sources, and added other striking proofs of Matthew's comparative originality, Dom Butler turns finally

to the burning question of the freshness, vividness and fulness of the Marcan narrative. It reads so much like the natural recollections of an eye-witness that few hesitate to accept the testimony of antiquity, that Mark records the preaching of St. Peter. How, then, can it derive from Matthew? Dom Butler answers that St. Peter gave Mark the benefit of his personal reminiscences as a sort of commentary on the basic narrative of Matthew. We must conclude that Mark omitted such magnificences as the Sermon on the Mount to make room for details with little theological interest, though picturesque in the extreme. It is not incredible, but it may seem to many unlikely: as unlikely as the supposition that Luke, with our Matthew before him, paid so little heed to his predecessor in his Infancy and Resurrection narratives.

There are two mis-prints: on p. 43 (Matt. v. 3 for v. 13), and on p. 112 (Matthew for Mark). But the book is beautifully produced, and is a worthy setting to the fine study of Dom Butler, which will remain a contribution of permanent value, especially in its demonstration of the fundamental originality of St. Matthew's gospel.

KEVIN SMYTH

PHILOSOPHY

SIX EXISTENTIALIST THINKERS. By H. J. Blackham. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1951. Pp. viii and 173. 15s.

THE main plea of this book is that we should take the existentialists seriously. The plea is justified, although we may feel that Mr. Blackham takes them, and himself too seriously. Existentialist thought is important on several counts. As a preliminary method for the realistic presentation of philosophic problems, it is invaluable. In keeping me close to the concrete, it helps to save me from the lure of abstract mental play-acting, divorced from the very reality I am supposed to be investigating. By insisting on my personal engagement in existence, it gives a bite and urgency to philosophic problems, since I see myself to be personally involved in them. By laying stress on my fundamental contingency and freedom, it warns me not to hold myself aloof, in my philosophizing, from the vital decision of personal surrender to something beyond myself. But it is not philosophy, if philosophy be taken as the systematic search for a coherent intelligible explanation of reality and not as, merely, an overall blanket-view of man and his place in the world. There is room and need for such a global attitude to existence, where emotion and environment, psychological insight and the stress of circumstance play their part in the general assessment of the meaning of reality, and where free personal choice gives body to lived convictions. Philosophy is one way of reaching reality and, rightfully, a way of universal validity. There are other more individual and concrete approaches—work, art, friendship, religion—warmer, perhaps, more insistent and more immediately reassuring. Communications need not be cut between these various roads; but each has its proper goal and specific landmarks. No good can come of confusing their several issues.

Mr. Blackham's presentation of six existentialist thinkers is objective, thorough—within the limits set him—and as clear as his subjects allow him to be. There would seem, however, to be a rather false heartiness in the last lines of the *Preface*: "Finally, the general reader . . . should be told at the outset that there is nothing in this book which he cannot understand if he really wants to." No amount of encouragement or mental back-slapping is going to carry the general reader over such hurdles as the long passage on page 105, where the author paraphrases

Heidegger's account of " the experience of Nothing." And this is only one example among many. Of the six thinkers chosen, Sartre gets the fullest treatment, both individually (thirty-eight pages) and as the principal norm of reference for the interpretative essay which closes the book. The other five—Kierkegaard, Nietzsche, Marcel, Jaspers and Heidegger—receive fairly even shares of notice, twenty-odd pages apiece. To one already acquainted with these writers Mr. Blackham's exposition will be satisfactory enough, despite inevitable obscurities ; to the " general reader," of no matter how great goodwill, much will remain hidden in clouds of verbiage.

One word on the tone of the book, whether explicit or latent. In philosophic discourse, little is to be gained by scolding or by raising the voice of doom. Mr. Blackham lacks serenity. In the opening paragraph of his essay on Kierkegaard, he gives a rap over the knuckles to those "who having neither sympathy nor patience either with him (Kierkegaard) or with his ideas explain both from the sufficient evidence of his neurosis and its cause. At least the disciples have read and studied him." This is the accent of the school-marm ; the innuendo is obvious, and not without a trace of petulance. The prophetic note appears on page 163 : " It (existentialism) is easy, too easy, to satirize : it guys itself. Two sentences chopped out of *L'Etre et le Néant*, like a decapitated cockerel running round in a circle, will provide sport for all any day of the week. The times are too serious, the historical issues too fateful and tormenting to amuse oneself at the expense of the too obvious ridiculous prophets." Surely Mr. Blackburn has lost his sense of proportion. On the next page there is an outburst of almost lyrical irritation : " Even in these days, academic groves are cool and sequestered, and it is understandable that in such quarters a pulpit philosophy should be resented and deplored, for the new friars, more frothily corruptive of youth than ancient sophists, let loose an immense untidiness and with uncouth shouts set up their morality show and parade the hectic of disease and the scandal of sin against a backcloth of the vast and the vague. Nothing could be more annoying, more offensive to the taste of a chaste intellect. Except, of course, that it is fun to dispose of it by neat snips with the scissors of logic in a magazine article, or to dry it up in a lecture by judicious dabs of an astringent wit, or even to jolly well put it in its place by persistent snubs in reviews." Mr. Blackham has forgotten, as the existentialists themselves so often forget, that a situation can be dramatized out of existence. It would not be out of place, perhaps, to recall the words—used in a very different context—of a great philosopher and a great existentialist : " Huiusmodi pugna versatur circa bona intelligibilia, aliae vero pugnae circa sensibiles passiones " (St. Thomas : Comment. in IV Sent., dist. XLIX, q.5, a.5, sol.2).

JOSEPH O'MARA

PERSONALISM. By Emmanuel Mounier. Translated by Philip Mairet. London : Routledge & Kegan Paul. 1952. Pp. xx and 132. 15s.

EMMANUEL MOUNIER died in 1949 at the age of forty-five. As founder, in 1930, of the review *Esprit*, he waged a life-long war against every form of compromise with anti-Christian and anti-personalist forces. One of his earliest articles, " Break with the Established Disorder," set the key for all his subsequent activity. He was the prophet of " engagement " and " commitment" long before these terms had been debased to clichés covering a variety of genuine or pseudo-philosophic attitudes. Often virulent in expression, he was over-inclined to welcome the revolutionary and intransigent under whatever guise they might assume, and his generosity or

ınind was no stranger to excess. A fundamental balance of judgment, however, aved him from becoming a crusading crank for "lost causes, forgotten beliefs, mpossible loyalities, unpopular names." His thought was clear-cut and direct, ıis writing trenchant, and his essential honesty of purpose made him unafraid f opposition. Some precocious flirting with Marxism, as a doctrine which seemed ɔ be alive to the material and temporal conditions of man, was quickly followed y a stiff refusal to countenance any collusion with Communism. All real material nd temporal values could best be secured and preserved by honouring the dignity f the human person.

The work here noticed is a posthumous publication. It goes over ground lready traversed at a more leisurely pace in articles in *Esprit*. The plan of the ook is simple: a first, and longer, part outlines the general speculative doctrine f *Personalism*, while a short end-section of some twenty-five pages deals with the ıeoretical principles underlying the application of *Personalism* to public life. With ıe inevitable risk of distortion, Mounier's position might be summarized briefly ıus: The human person is at once an embodied and a transcendent reality. lecessarily immersed in matter, man rises superior to the material and temporal ɔnditionings which fence him in on all sides. He is both master and servant in the orld. Autonomous in the conscious and free gift of self to things, to other persons ı-whether singly or collectively (in the family, the state, the community of nations) ı-and to God, man is at the same time bound by a triple dependence. He is the vimmer, supported and advancing in virtue of the very element which resists im and holds him back. The perennial evils that beset human existence can be aced ultimately to the exaggerated or exclusive importance given to one or other the essential characteristics of the person—to autonomy or commitment: on ıe one hand, dilettantism, indifference, irresponsibility, revolt, licence, irreligion; ı the other, slavish adaptation to material conditions, lack of initiative, abbiness, blind submission to state control, routine, superstition. The solution the problem of human existence at all its levels—individual, familial, national ıd international—must be based on a fearlessly realistic adjustment of private ıd public life between the two poles of personal independence and conditioned ngagement.

This is a stimulating book, one to arouse championship and opposition—at ıe least, one to initiate discussion. Even those who are in full agreement with Iounier on the root principles of *Personalism*, will sometimes prefer to part ɔmpany with him on side-issues. At all events, in these pages they will meet a rile mind at grips with a question of first consequence. And for this alone they ill be grateful. The translation, despite a few infelicities, is adequate and smooth.

JOSEPH O'MARA

HISTORY

HE WHITE CANONS IN ENGLAND. By H. M. Colvin. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1951. 35s.

EARLY fifty years have gone by since Cardinal Gasquet (then Abbot Gasquet) ıblished the three volumes of his *Collectanea Anglo-Praemonstratensia* for the ımden Society. Those volumes were unfortunately marred by a long series of mis-ints and other errors, which gave Coulton an opportunity of attack and which have used Mr. Colvin (a very much friendlier critic) to print in an appendix a list corrections. But they gave scholars for the first time access to the essential

materials for any history of the White Canons of the Norbertine or Premonstratensian Order in England. The documents which Gasquet printed in chronological order came from two main sources: Peck's eighteenth-century transcript of a (now) lost *Registrum Praemonstratense*, and the register of Bishop Redman, who was the official visitor of the order's English houses from 1459 to 1505. Mr. Colvin has based his detailed study on these two fundamental documents, and also on such surviving cartularies, registers and scattered charters as have survived in a large number of English libraries. His work was begun in London under Professor Galbraith; it was finished at Oxford, where Mr. Colvin is now a fellow of St. John's College. It deserves welcome as a model of careful and conscientious work on a subject that has been neglected, largely for the good reason that the White Canons have never played any very conspicuous part in the monastic history of medieval England.

A valuable opening chapter gives a brief survey of the order's history, showing how curiously little the order owes to its saintly founder St. Norbert. It was, indeed, little more than an accident that this saintly bishop came to be the founder of a new religious order; his own work at Magdeburg under the Emperor Lothair shows an interest in active missionary work which has never been the order's normal apostolate. Even the later association of the White Canons with ordinary parochial work is a development that was not at first welcomed by those who drafted the first statutes of Prémontré; but parochial duties had come to be part of their regular work when the White Canons made their first appearance in England in or about 1143. The later development, which saw the foundation of thirty abbeys, six cells and three nunneries in England, was due in part to the fact that the Cistercian order, with which the White Canons had many points of contact in France and England, had been compelled in self-defence to limit its own growth by a decree which forbade further foundations in 1152. From that date to the middle of the thirteenth century the White Canons made most of their foundations in England. The first house was Newhouse in Lincolnshire, which was founded from Licques in the Pas-de-Calais across the Channel. From Newhouse were derived practically all the English foundations, though its daughter Welbeck became in turn a mother-house of eight monasteries and was Newhouse's chief rival in the fifteenth century. The Cistercian tradition of jurisdiction over daughter-houses had been imitated by the White Canons; but they improved on the Cistercian system by grouping their houses into *circariae*, which were subject to annual visitation by an official visitor like Bishop Redman. Here in Ireland there was only one *circaria*. In England there were three; and there was a separate *circaria* for the order's five houses in Scotland.

Mr. Colvin's best work is to be found in his long second chapter, which is devoted to a study of the foundation of each English monastery in turn. His aim is here to analyse the evidence for the feudal status of the founder in each case and his inquiry is thus a most valuable contribution to the history of Anglo-Norman feudal society in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. For the most part these founders belong to the lesser baronage or the new nobility. The older families had inherited a tradition of benefaction to older and more famous foundations, whether Benedictine or Cistercian; they were thus content to maintain and protect monasteries which were by tradition largely dependent on their good-will and generosity. The White Canons, moreover, made lessser demands on a founder's generosity, for their requirements were less ambitious. They did not expect to be endowed with whole manors, and their buildings were for the most part less splendid. A rare exception was Leiston in Suffolk, a house that was founded in 1183 by Ranulf de Glanville, Henry II's justiciar. His set purpose was to found

monastery that should be the wealthiest Norbertine house in England, and for time at least he had his way. But Torre in distant Devonshire was in the end ne wealthiest of all the English Premonstratensian houses.

Students of Irish monastic history will find little to their purpose in this volume, nough Mr. Colvin's account of the organization, secular and religious obligations nd intellectual activities of the White Canons in England makes an admirable ntroduction to the study of their history in any other country. We may note here nat a German Premonstratensian scholar, Father Norbert Backmund, is at present reparing a *Monasticon Praemonstratense* which aims at giving the essential facts or the history of every house of the White Canons in medieval Europe. The first olume of this work was published at Straubing in 1949 : it is concerned with the *ircariae* of Germany, the Scandinavian countries, Poland, Bohemia, Hungary, Greece and Italy. The second volume will include the *circariae* of England, Ireland nd Scotland. Mr. Colvin gives a short account of the Scottish *circaria*, but says nothing of Ireland. However, his story includes one name that is of interest to rish students. John Maxey was bishop of Elphin from 1525 to 1536. He had been bbot of Langley, a Premonstratensian house in Norfolk, from 1507–17. He was hen translated to Newhouse, and was finally elected abbot of Welbeck, then the rder's chief English house, in 1519. He remained abbot of Welbeck after his levation to the see of Elphin, and held in addition the abbey of Titchfield in Hampshire *in commendam*, with two prebends in York Minster. Not content with hese various sources of revenue, he made an effort to secure the rectory of Trim n Meath, but was here unable to have his way. Bishop Maxey seems to have cted as suffragan (or auxiliary) bishop in York during the last ten years of his life. Elphin most probably saw little of him, if indeed he ever visited this country in erson. This bishop-abbot died in 1536 at a time when men's consciences were lready being tested by the King's new religious policy. It was his successor as bbot of Welbeck, Richard Bentley, who surrendered the abbey to the Crown in 538.

Apart from the seven chapters of narrative, this book contains a series of most aluable appendixes : some twenty pages of original documents not hitherto rinted, an analysis of the numbers known to be in each of the thirty English houses rom the twelfth to the fifteeth centuries, a careful list of all known abbots and lso of the few bishops chosen from the order, and an impressive list of all the manuscript sources that the author has located in various libraries—most of which ne has been able to study in some detail Little is said, on the other hand, that night give us insight into the interior life and characteristic spirit of St. Norbert's canons. All in all, here is a volume which serious students must welcome, and which will make students of Irish monastic history envious by reason of England's astly greater wealth of documentary materials.

AUBREY GWYNN

GLEANINGS FROM ULSTER HISTORY.—Punann ó Chois Bhanna. By Séumas Ó Ceallaigh. Cork : University Press. Oxford : Basil Blackwell. 1952. Pp. 118. 15s.

If the test were number and distinction of descendants, Niall of the Nine Hostages night well be regarded as the greatest Irishman who ever lived. He flourished ust at the dawn of the documentary era in Irish history. Loeguire who, as King of Ireland, played such a large part in the story of St. Patrick, was his son. From Lugaid, son of Loeguire, to Maelsechnaill II, deposed by Brian Boruma in 1002, the direct descendants of Niall who had reigned as Kings of Ireland numbered forty. To the line belong St. Colmcille and St. Adamnan ; the two Hughs, leaders in

the Nine Years War against Elizabeth; Eoghan Ruadh, ablest of military commanders in the struggle against Cromwell and the Parliamentarians; in more recent times Patrick O'Donnell, Cardinal-Archbishop of Armagh. With this ancient stock none other in Ireland can bear any real comparison.

To trace all the descendants of Niall would, of course, be utterly impossible. In the Annals and cognate records only kings and princes are mentioned. The genealogists permit us to see a little farther, but even they are constrained, for reasons of space, to confine their attention to a few major stems. Thus minor branches of the greater septs receive scant consideration, and after a decent interval are allowed to drop into oblivion. The process is well illustrated in the case of the Cenél Eogain, that group of Niall's descendants who derived from his son Eogan. In addition to the main dynastic line (represented in medieval times by the O'Neills and the Mac Lochlainns), descended from Muirchertach son of Muiredach son of Eogan, there were the Cenél Feradaig, from Feradach, son of Muiredach; the Cenél Tigernaig, from Tigernach, son of Muiredach; the Cenél Moain from Moan, son of Muiredach; the Cenél Bindig, from Eochaid Bindech, son of Eogan and the Cenél Aeda mic Fergusa, from Aed, son of Fergus, son of Eogan. Four other sons of Eogan likewise left sturdy progeny. All these aristocratic families were settled originally in Inis Eogain, the peninsula between Loch Foyle and Loch Swilly. It is obvious that they could not continue to thrive in an area so narrow and so resourceless; many, at least, would have to find lands elsewhere or perish.

Migration, in fact, was on a big scale, as the Tír Eogain (Tyrone) of a later date testifies. The move outward of the principal Cenél Eogain forces into Derry and central Ulster is fairly well understood, but the corresponding advance of the lesser groups and their relations with the rulers of the Cenél Eogain state have naturally received less attention. The present book throws much light on this problem. Profiting by an extraordinary intimate knowledge of the genealogies, an exceptional familiarity with the countryside, an interest in place-names (which recalls his student collaboration with Father Hogan in compiling the *Onomasticon*), a sensef or history, which enables him to find a sure way through shoals and quicksands, and an indefatigable industry, Séumas Ó Ceallaigh has succeeded in tracing the settlement of the Cenél Binnig and the fortunes of that subdivision of the Cenél Eogain in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

It is curious to note that the migration of the Cenél Binnig is in the age-old tradition of the Celts, as described by Polybius and Livy. Just as from Gaul a portion only of the Aedui, the Lingones (Langres) and Senones (Sens) left home and occupied new territory in the north of Italy, so from Inishowen a section of the Cenél Binnig set forth on the quest that was to bring them to the Bann. There they were organized in three *tuatha*, in a territory corresponding with the later barony of Loughinsholin. Since they shared the blood of Eogan they were able to play a part, modest but not negligible, in Cenél Eogain history. When surnames became common, some interesting forms appear: O Conaill, O Donnchadha, O Brain, O Ranacáin (Rankin), O Peatáin (Patton, Patten), O Canaighe (Canny), O Cuaig (Quigg), O Muimnecháin (Monaghan), O Tomhrair (Toner), O h-Adhmuill (Hamill), O Lachtnáin (O Loughlin), O h-Easúin (Hassan, Hasson), Mac Trotáin (Troddyn?), beside such common northern names as Mac Loingsigh and Mag Oirc (McGurk). The author has an interesting chapter on the two keepers of St. Patrick's bell (Clog an Uadhachta), O Maolchalainn (Mulholland) and O Mealláin (Mallon). That there should be two families surviving through the centuries in charge of any relic is most surprising. A simple explanation would be the descent of both from the same ancestor, but this is nowhere suggested and is unlikely.

On wider issues the author has some weighty words to say. A conundrum for historians is the descent of the great family of Mac Lochlainn, whether from

Domnall O Néill, ancestor of the O Neills, or from that Domnall's grand-uncle, Domnall, son of Aed Findliath (who died as King of Ireland in 879). Here the evidence is put very fairly. It leans towards descent from the earlier Domhnall. But it would be wrong to regard the problem as solved. The Muiredach who may have been father of Lochlainn is not an invention; he is mentioned obliquely in AIRE. under the year 1015: Muirchertach mac *Muiredaig Ui Néill*. . . . A Lochlainn, brother of Muirchertach would be a contemporary of Lochlainn, son of Maelsechnaill, who was slain in 1023. From Rawl .B. 502 it is clear that a common O Neill-MacLochlainn descent from Domnall O Neill was current in the lifetime of Domnall Mac Lochlainn, who claimed the kingship of Ireland. If we suppose it to be a fiction, we have to ask ourselves what purpose the forger sought to serve? It is difficult to decide on any. Could it be a question of a mere mistake, a slip by a copyist perpetuated in subsequent lists? Hardly; for the line through Domnall O Neill gives the impression of being deliberately constructed. Its author meant it to be accepted as historical truth. We must agree then with Dr. O Cellaigh that the last word on the matter is not yet said.

Another chapter of great value is that which deals with the O Brien princes at Telach Óg. Here the point is made that Kincora was endeavouring "to establish a supremacy over Cineál Eoghain" as early as 1053. This is difficult to accept. The year mentioned is remarkable for the "cogadh mór" waged between Donnchad, son of Brian, King of Munster and Aed O Conchubair, King of Connacht. In the struggle Donnchad was opposed by his nephew, Toirdelbach O Briain, who had gone to the aid of the Connachtmen. If Donnchad had ambitions in Tír Eogain, he could hardly have selected a worse time for making them public. It is much more likely then that the *maer* or steward of Dál Chais, who was killed by Ardgal Mac Lochlainn during a raid on the Cenél Binnig in 1053, was engaged on a diplomatic mission, rather looking for support for his master than asserting any right of that master to lordship in the north. Thus Professor James Hogan's reconstruction of the events of 1078 remains unshaken, Conchobar O Briain must have been established at Telach Óg with the full approval of Domnall Mac Lochlainn. Why O Briain was killed by the Cenél Binnig is conjectural; they were not necessarily representing O Neill interests against Mac Lochlainn; their objection to any Munster family at Telach Óg might, indeed, be the most natural thing in the world.

This, finally, is a book which the ecclesiastical historian cannot afford to overlook. Mention has been made of the two keepers of St. Patrick's Bell. One of these, O Mealláin, was tenant of the Archbishop of Armagh and the family was found wherever the archbishopric had lands. In the same way the family of Mac Catháin (Keane) got a footing in Kerry and Limerick. There was the *scrín* of St. Dachuileán in Inishowen, whose custodian was O Fearáin. Reference is made to numerous churches with their church lands, and the inevitable lay administrators. Special attention may be drawn to the note on page 73, where the author, with courage worthy of an Ulsterman, defines the position of an *airchinneach*.

JOHN RYAN

THE IRISH PARLIAMENTARY PARTY, 1890–1910. By F. S. L. Lyons. London. Faber and Faber. 25s.

THERE has scarcely been a more depressing period of modern Irish history than the twenty years which Mr. Lyons has taken as the subject for this extremely useful study. He is lecturer in history at University College, Hull, and he has made skilful and industrious use of the immense amount of material available in many biographies and other works, besides the newspapers of the period. He has

also examined at least some part of various important collections of political papers which have not been previously utilized. John Dillon's papers are so extensive, and they include so many letters in extremely difficult handwriting, that it will be a formidable task to make full use of them. Mr. Lyons has had access to part of them concerning this special period, and he describes the whole collection as filling about twenty tin boxes " besides various leather suitcases and wooden boxes." The William O'Brien MSS., now deposited in the National Library of Ireland, are much less extensive, but Mr. Lyons has found some useful bundles among them. T. C. Harrington's MSS. are in the National Library, but have not yet been sorted, but here also Mr. Lyons has found new material. In the National Library also are the MSS. of J. F. X. O'Brien, which are of special importance, because he was for years one of the trustees of the Irish Party. Mr. Lyons has been able to consult some important groups of letters among Michael Davitt's papers, which have been entrusted to Professor T. W. Moody. In all these collections he is concerned chiefly with a few main questions : the attempts to restore unity after the Parnell split, the disposal of the Paris fund, the formation of the United Irish League, the attitude of various leaders to constructive reforms which tended to weaken national concentration upon the demand for self-government, and the personal relations between the rivals for leadership of the party.

Even those who study this careful analysis of the whole period by Mr. Lyons will find it difficult now to form any clear impression of what were the main causes of dispute between Dillon and O'Brien and Healy and Redmond and other important leaders. They were all actuated by sincerely patriotic motives, and they had little personal ambition, though they all had their strong personal antipathies. Even where personal dislike and suspicion was most marked, they were usually concerned chiefly with some principle which seemed to be at stake. Sometimes it was the need to preserve national unity ; sometimes, the fear of becoming too closely involved in English politics. But the most constant cause of discord concerned the selection of candidates for the constituencies. Healy particularly had always resented Parnell's autocratic methods, and he had shown himself ready to dispute even Parnell's decisions. Dillon insisted on party discipline no less rigidly than Parnell did, but he made it a matter of principle, whereas Parnell enjoyed the exercise of his personal authority. Redmond also was steeped in the Parnell tradition, but he was less rigid in his methods than Dillon, and Dillon constantly suspected that Redmond would make compromises to placate Healy or O'Brien of which he disapproved.

At times one gets an impression that personal antagonisms and suspicions almost obliterated the larger issues. Thus, in March, 1900, Dillon writes (page 92) to warn O'Brien : " I am convinced that there is an understanding between Redmond and Healy, and that the object of hurrying on the convention is to take the movement in Ireland out of your hands and to put R. at the head." But, as Mr. Lyons observes, O'Brien was at this stage " prepared to trust Redmond to a considerable degree, but, like Dillon, he was adamant in his hostility towards Healy. His main aim at this time was to separate Redmond from Healy and thereby to isolate the latter." Only a few years later it was Healy and O'Brien who joined forces in opposing the combination led by Redmond and Dillon. It seems extraordinary now, when one reads the complicated story of those years, that any semblance of national unity could be maintained while the leaders were so divided among themselves. Yet the national agitation for self-government was maintained steadfastly, and the only serious question at each election was whether candidates were prepared to devote their whole energy to the pursuit of Home Rule.

Leadership under such conditions was a desperately thankless business. The le hope was to obtain the balance of power at Westminister between the two nglish parties. If a general election did not produce some such result, there was alternative but to wait until the next election and try again. Nor was membership the Party an attractive occupation in itself. It was certainly not lucrative. r. Lyons devotes an interesting chapter to the collection and expenditure of the rty fund. Only a small proportion of members were paid any salary, and even r those who were dependent upon financial help, the maximum payment was 200 a year, which at times could not be provided. Only one member of the Party as paid so much as £500 a year. It is true that political prominence gave an creased professional reputation to some members, such as T. M. Healy; but en they would have earned larger incomes by attending entirely to their ofessions without being obliged to sit at Westminster.

It was an extraordinary achievement to preserve the tradition of party discipline, id the ideal of party unity, during so long a period in face of such difficulties. Ir. Lyons shows how strong and how constant was the temptation to abandon ncentration upon Home Rule, in favour of such practical reforms as were offered nder Balfour's shrewd direction. The congested districts board, the concession popular control over local government, the introduction of land purchase ith state aid, the growth of Horace Plunkett's agricultural co-operative movement, id the establishment of the Department of Agriculture—all such measures tended reduce the pressure for national self-government, and to produce new lines of ivision among the nationalist leaders. Students of the period may well be grateful Mr. Lyons for having traced so complicated a story with skill and insight. It as scarcely possible for a young writer to visualize the characters clearly. With w exceptions, they scarcely come to life, in his elaborate analysis of events and eir causes. Men like J. F. X. O'Brien, for instance—with his romantic Fenian ast, and his prestige as having been condemned to be hanged, drawn and quartered —appear only in connection with minor incidents, which are at times undignified nd devoid of any emotional appeal.

Mr. Lyons tends to underrate the ability and varied talent of the old Irish arty. It is untrue, for instance, to say, as he does (page 40), that Dillon " was ne solitary Irish member who could claim to speak with authority on foreign ffairs." One of his colleagues, J. J. O'Kelly, had been a distinguished war orrespondent. Justin McCarthy had an immense prestige as the historian of his me. T. P. O'Connor, as the editor of a very successful London daily newspaper, as at all times widely informed on foreign politics. And among the younger men . M. Kettle appears only twice, with a mere mention of his name. Yet he was n many ways a symbolic figure of the generation which soon afterwards adopted he full programme of Sinn Fein. He had inherited all the old loyalty to Parnell nd an intense nationalist tradition, and he was already restive within the party, hough he accepted the need for party discipline and unity which precluded all ider scope for the younger men. Mr. Lyons gives an interesting analysis of the ges and length of service of members of the party at different periods. The verage age of party members was surprisingly low, but it was the younger men who ropped out, while the veterans of Parnell's time retained all effective control. nd the veteran leaders had entered politics so young that they were still only iddle-aged when the rising generation regarded them as belonging to a forgotten ge.

DENIS GWYNN

ECONOMICS AND POLITICS

INFLATION. By Paul Einzig. London: Chatto and Windus. 1952. 12s. 6d.

ST. AUGUSTINE declared that, though he could not define time, he knew what it was. So it is with inflation. The ordinary man who uses this term may not be able to define it, but he is certain that he does know by experience what it is: for him it is a constant rise in prices. But this is not necessarily inflation; periods of great industrial expansion have resulted in price rises without being labelled inflationary. A decline in the value of money is merely a necessary but not always sufficient criterion of inflation. As a preliminary to arriving at a suitable definition of his subject, Dr. Einzig briefly surveys the history of prices for the last four thousand years in order to discover some of the causes that led to a decline in the value of various currencies. His examples range from ancient Babylon and Greece to Germany and the countries of central Europe in the early 1920s. His conclusion is quite definite: "the circumstances of the inflationary instances given in this chapter vary widely, but they point to an inescapable conclusion that it is impossible to inflate on a large scale with impunity." Since inflation is so common and so dangerous, one would expect that the experts at least would be able to define it in order to combat it. But even here there is no agreement.

The commonest description is that of "too much money chasing too few goods." If one accepts this statement there was not and could not have been inflation in Germany after the First War! In that period the rise in prices and monetary requirements advanced so much faster than the expansion of the note issue that there was from time to time an acute scarcity of currency. Such an absurd conclusion arises because the definition overlooks the possibility of Cost Inflation "in which the monetary expansion is forced on a community by a rise in prices, the initial cause of which rise was not internal monetary expansion." For these and other reasons Dr. Einzig rejects all efforts to define inflation in terms of the mathematical relationship between the volume of money and the volume of monetary requirements. The fact that the monetary requirements exceed the volume of money could indicate either inflation or deflation, according to whether in prevailing conditions the volume of money tended to adjust itself to the volume of requirements or *vice-versa*. The defect of many definitions offered is that they are only partially true. For them Dr. Einzig substitutes the following: "Inflation is a state of disequilibrium in which an expansion of purchasing power tends to cause, or is the effect of, an increase of the price level." It follows that it is a mistake to regard a high price level as an inflated price level. The moment the balance between prices, wages and other factors is restored and stabilized, inflation ceases. The criterion is not whether at any given moment or period the volume of money is in excess of requirements or whether the volume of purchasing power is in excess of the amount of goods available for sale. What matters is whether there is in operation a vicious spiral in which prices, wages, monetary requirements, volume of money, etc., tend to influence each other in an upward direction.

With the aid of this carefully worded definition the author carries out in the remaining chapters of the book an examination of many current problems and institutions. It is here that his work is most useful for all practical economists and administrators. Some of the chapters are as topical as the current newspapers or Dáil reports. Three deserve special mention as worthy of careful attention: "Inflationary Taxation," "Higher prices through trade restrictions," "Imported Inflation." Perhaps of more immediate interest is "Inflation in the Welfare State." The author does not deny that there are many economic, social, political and humane arguments in favour of the Welfare State. "It is outside the scope of this book

to express any opinion whether the disadvantages represented by the inflationary character of the Welfare State are outweighed by other considerations. The sole aim of this chapter is to state the facts and draw attention to them. Those in favour of the Welfare State are not likely to be deterred from their policy by any warning that a certain degree of inflation is inherent in the Welfare State. Nevertheless, they may benefit by being warned."

These dangers of inflation arise in many ways. Minimum wage fixing by legislation, social and medical services, food subsidies, rent control, all of these, if carried beyond a certain point, do cause an increase in the cost of living, and so put pressure on workers to demand higher wages. "By the time all sections of lower paid groups have secured their advantages, the rise in the cost of living caused by the granting of these advantages will have deprived the recipients of much of the real benefit. This is what happened in Britain during 1945–51, when lavish expenditure on the National Health Service and other Social Services has contributed towards the rise in the cost of living of old-age pensioners. It must be borne in mind that a very large proportion of those for whose benefit the Welfare State is functioning is the least capable of defending themselves against inflation." This chapter should be read and carefully weighed by all who are interested in Social Welfare.

The least satisfactory portion of the book is that which treats of the remedies for inflation. Bank Rate changes and Credit Restrictions are discussed, but the author sees in Saving the greatest means of keeping inflation in control. The precise difficulty is that people are not inclined to save when money is depreciating rapidly. Hence, Dr. Einzig makes an appeal to individuals, "After all, it is the attitude of millions of individuals that determines the success or failure of anti-inflationary Government measures. Even the wisest of policies are liable to fail if inflation becomes aggravated by a wave of distrust or by selfish non-co-operation on the part of the public." This is a book that should do much to arouse the ordinary man to realize the dangers of inflation and to do his part in checking it, because, in spite of its technical subject, it is capable of being understood by all.

KEVIN QUINN

POLICY FOR THE WEST. By Barbara Ward. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd. Pp. 312. 1951. 12s. 6d.

IN her earlier book, *The West at Bay*, Barbara Ward traces the decline of Western Europe's political and economic position so competently that Salvador de Madariaga writing in the *Spectator* said: "No better report on current events could have been written . . . a study of our dark days unrivalled . . . for its clearness, conciseness and yet completeness." In it she describes vividly and accurately the vanished world of the nineteenth century, which was more than any other a British Century in the field of economics as well as of politics. She tells of America's role in Western Europe's darkest hour and of the Marshall plan for the rehabilitation of Europe's economic structure, a plan which was accepted by Western Europe with such alacrity and such enthusiasm that overnight an American isolationist had become a man who thought a four-billion dollar gift should be enough for Europe for the first year! And, finally, she contrasts "the first foundation of Western freedom . . . the belief that underlying the ebb and flow of historical events and human happenings there exists a moral order of right and wrong, and good and evil, which transcends every particular interest and which,

far from being created by men and events, is the yardstick by which they are judged," with the Marxist theory that " the economic structure of Society always forms the real basis from which, in the last analysis, is to be explained the whole superstructure of legal and political institutions, as well as the religious and other conceptions."

Notwithstanding the Marxist theory, the heroic endurance of the Russian people during the Second World War and the military feats of the Red Army had created such deep enthusiasm for Russia that it was confidently hoped in the West that the peace and future security of the world could be based on a working agreement with the Soviet. Even such men as Wendell Wilkie and President Roosevelt himself felt for a time that it might be easier to rebuild the world in alliance with the progressive Soviet Union than with the tradition-bound backward-looking Britain of Mr. Winston Churchill! In short, the general Western atmosphere was one of relief and hope and very genuine goodwill toward the Russian people. So begins the first chapter of Policy for the West.

The degree of Western disarmament, the reduction of American armed forces from nearly 12 millions in 1945 to 2½ millions a year later and to 1½ six months after that, of British forces from over 5 millions to less than 1½ million in 1947 and less than ¾ million in 1949 reflected the confidence of the West.

What, then, shook that confidence? The origins of the doubt go back to the early days of the Soviet-Western alliance against Hitler, when the Soviet claims to the Baltic States and parts of Poland militated against a Second Front attack through these states. Confidence was further shaken by the maintenance on Europe's land frontiers of at least a hundred Russian divisions. The circumstances under which Poland came to be ruled by a Russian Marshal, the Russian attitude in Germany, including the forced fusion of the Socialists with the Communists and from the grave, the answers of Benes and Masaryk, give the reasons for the mistrust. In the fascinating and revealing correspondence of Tito with Moscow and the Cominform, " we can see," writes Miss Ward, " in full publicity the real extent of Soviet claims to power and control. They are total," and total control is the only thing that will assuage the Soviet hostility, not caused by the West, but self-caused and self-sustained.

Barbara Ward's second question is: Do we face a general war? The Soviet Union makes no secret of its hostility, but arguing from the national traditions of Czarist Russia, and supported by arguments based on the New Russia, her answer is in the negative. Russia can afford to wait and bide her time, as she is sure that sooner or later another wave of crisis will be generated by the instability of capitalist society and in the ensuing confusion another slice of the world will fall into the lap of Communism. The task of the Western World must therefore, be to secure conditions in which the Soviet Union is prepared to wait or, better still, to create in the free world conditions of such strength and stability that even the Soviet leaders cannot misunderstand or underestimate them. This line of thought leads to the theory of containment as the only one offering a chance and a hope of peace.

If we accept the fact of Soviet hostility and Soviet pressure, then we (the West) must be sufficiently armed if we are to contain them effectively, but the aims of this containment is not War, but Peace. Its aim is not to drive the enemy to defeat, but to effect a settlement with him. The Berlin airlift " succeeded in vindicating completely the underlying philosophy of containment, which is that pressure must be met not by appeasement, but by resolute counter-pressure."

How, then, can this containment be effected? To rely on military containment alone without social containment would, in Miss Ward's view, be the equivalent of defending a town whose gates are all open to the enemy. Time, in the military sense, will not be on the side of the Western Powers, unless they fulfil speedily and surely the implications of military containment. Military danger-signals sounded. There was the independent regime established by the Tudeh, a local left wing party in Persian Azerbaijan, Communist risings in Greece, the War of Nerves in Turkey, the Berlin blockade, but it was the seizure of the Czech Government that set the alarm-bells ringing and the red lights winking all through the Atlantic world. Czechoslovakia was probably the only country in Europe in which a modus vivendi between East and West, between communism and democracy, should have been feasible. The Czech people combined a tradition of Western politics and Western trade with a genuine devotion to Russia.

In a chapter, entitled *Strength for Strength*, Miss Ward deals with the need for recreating an effective defensive position, and in an interesting table gives the relative strength in 1949 in U.S.A., U.K., France, Western Germany, Canada, Australia and U.S.S.R. of the population, national income, steel, hard coal, crude oil and electricity. But, she adds, defence is not enough for the Policy for the West, because the policy of containment demands staying power as well as strength. It is a policy that may have to remain in operation for 20 or 30 years, and therefore the expenditure must be such as can be reasonably carried on, year after year, without risking economic breakdown. It must not be forgotten that the Soviet hopes to achieve far more by the decay and collapse of the non-Communist world than by frontal attacks upon it.

Under many attractive titles, Miss Ward tackles problems of inflation, deflation, Western Unity, World Economy, and others, that have become the subject of daily conversation, but unhappily have not thereby been brought any nearer to solution. Through both her books, however, there radiates a gleam of sunshine, not, alas! through Eastern windows, but through the Marshall Plan. None of the countries within its orbit was self-supporting. All depended for the steady functioning of their economies upon their capacity to export and to buy abroad. Ability to buy essential raw materials in the U.S.A. in 1947 had almost come to an end. Had not the American people come to their aid, their whole economic systems would have been brought almost to a standstill. Marshall aid " has done two things—it has enabled Western Europe to continue its essential purchases in the United States and it has revived in Europe an industrial system capable of exporting goods all over the world. As Europe's ability to sell everywhere has increased, its direct dependence upon the United States has declined in the same measure. Marshall Aid has been reduced from nearly 6 billion in 1945 to just under 4 billion in 1949 and 3 billion in 1950. During the same period the value of Western European exports has risen in spite of devaluation from $7,700 million in the first half of 1948 to $8,850 million in the first half of 1950."

All economics still have to take as their starting point the fact that there is not enough to go round. " Not all the advances of modern science and modern technology have yet contrived to change the fact that in any modern community there are more wants than there are means to satisfy them."

It is disappointing to find that the International Labour Organization is mentioned only in a footnote. This veteran International which enshrines in its constitution the principles of *Rerum Novarum* has as its primary objective the establishment of peace on the basis of social justice.

President Truman announced in 1949 a " bold new program " of technical assistance to backward areas—Part IV. The I.L.O. answered the call. Its response will be found in *Lasting Peace—The I.L.O. Way*.

As in her earlier book, Miss Ward's final chapter is devoted to *Faith for Freedom*. As she truly says: "Any human enterprise needs a measure of faith. Men must believe that what they have undertaken can be carried through." No human being, no action can succeed on a merely negative belief. There must be positive faith. The strength of Marx lay in what he attacked rather than in what he promised. The appalling smugness of the Victorian possessing classes was an easy target. The long hours of work, the bad conditions of employment not only in the mines, but in factories and workshops, were some of the weaknesses from which the Gospel of Marx spread. If Communism has gained strength from the weaknesses of the West, perhaps, as Miss Ward says, the West will look with a new interest at an earlier belief—that liberty itself is grounded in the fact that God's authority over-rules all others, and that, in Saint Thomas More's words, a man can be the State's "good servant, but God's first."

BRIGHID STAFFORD

YEAR BOOK OF LABOUR STATISTICS, 1949–50. Geneva: International Labour Office. 1951. 30s.

THE attitude of the general public to statistics has changed greatly in the past fifty years. At the opening of the century there were few reliable figures available for such matters as unemployment, wages, hours of work. Those that were issued were very irregular in their appearance and were usually a year or two out-of-date. To-day there is a surfeit of facts and figures on almost every aspect of social and economic life. Although we lag behind many countries in the scope and up-to-dateness of our statistics, nevertheless we in Ireland have become very aware of the value of statistics as a glance at the Questions in the Dáil Reports will show. So conscious have we become of figures and official reports that we are interested only in those of the past week or month or year. Other figures have as little interest for us as has a newspaper that is a week old. For this reason this 11th issue of the I.L.O. Labour Statistics of about 60 countries may seem dated and of little importance.

But statistics can be more than mere ephemeral statements of fact. They can help us to see the general long term trends that are in operation in a particular country and, to a lesser degree, to make comparisons with the economic and social developments elsewhere. This requires that the figures presented should cover a number of years. It is in this that the value of the I.L.O. publication lies. In addition to the number of the working population, the level of employment, hours of work and wages, figures are given for prices, incomes, social security, industrial injuries and disputes. Section XI is headed "Migration": Ireland is not mentioned!

KEVIN QUINN

FATHER HERBERT THURSTON, S.J.

FATHER THURSTON. By Joseph Crehan, S.J. London: Sheed & Ward. 1952. 12s. 6d.

THOSE who knew Father Thurston personally will read this tribute to his memory with pleasure. Those who never knew him will probably be astounded to see from the bibliography at the end of this volume how much can be accomplished by one man, if he is a steady and conscientious worker and if God gives him the double gift of sound health and long years, Father Thurston had almost completed his

eighty-third year when he died in November, 1939, and he was working to the end. Of East Anglian stock, he was a Londoner by birth—and the Reading Room of the British Museum came near to being his home (it was certainly his chosen workshop) for most of his working life. The *Month* was fortunate in counting on him as a regular contributor for forty-five years, and seldom has more faithful service been given to any periodical. His first contribution had appeared in 1878; the stream of regular essays began in 1894, with a characteristic series on "Mr. Rider Haggard and the Immuring of Nuns." The essay on which he was working at the time of his death was "A Survey of Psychical Research"; and it was followed (in July, 1940) by another most characteristic essay on "Pacts with the Devil." Between those dates there had been also some 200 minor and major contributions to the *Catholic Encyclopaedia*, and the whole formidable and at times ungrateful task of the revised edition of Butler's *Lives of the Saints*. For almost half a century Father Thurston stuck manfully to his guns. Readers of STUDIES will remember with gratitude the numerous articles which appeared over his name in these pages between the years 1920 and 1938.

There is, of course, a sharp dividing line somewhere near halfway in this stream of critical and controversial articles. Up to the outbreak of the First World War, Father Thurston was mainly interested in liturgical problems and in the historical development of our more popular Catholic devotions. His interest in psychic problems, though Father Crehan traces it back in private letters to a much earlier date, begins with the sudden increase of popular interest in Spiritualism and other forms of Occultism during the years 1914–18. Surprisingly enough, there was a directly human link between the two spheres of interest. That very odd and unbalanced so-called Jansenist Bishop, Arnold Mathew, attracted Father Thurston's attention both as a priest who claimed authority in spiritualist circles and as a very formidable menace to the peace of Catholic consciences by his success in reviving the influence of Dutch Jansenist ordinations in England. Were it not for Father Thurston's very personal interest in these problems, this contact with spiritualist claims would have been no more than a passing phase in his controversial activities. But the personal interest was there, and the bibliography of the next twenty-five years shows plainly how absorbing Father Thurston found this study. His biographer reveals a fact that seems to have been known to few, even of the English Jesuits: that an official warning came from Roman and local authorities, who were disturbed by the practical effect of some highly speculative theories put forward by Father Thurston in his effort to find some theological explanation for what he firmly believed to be the real, but none-the-less dangerous side of many psychic phenomena. With characteristic modesty and obedience, Father Thurston paid heed to these warnings, and his biographer sums up his attitude as follows: "One might say that his enquiries into the queer phenomena which attended certain saints were but widening the field of research so that the eventual convergence of evidence would be the more convincing."

Those who were best able to appreciate Father Thurston's gifts as a critical historian must have been saddened by the thought of so much useful work which was left aside for these strange and often disturbing phenomena. At his best he has had few equals in the patient investigation of problems that were confused by the growth of later and uncritical legends. The Bollandists made no secret of the high opinion in which they held his work in this field; and Father Crehan prints a very striking, but well-deserved, tribute which the Bollandist veteran, Father Hippolyte Delehaye, paid to Father Thurston in the last year of his life—a tribute which had been evoked by the successful completion of his work as critical editor of Butler's *Lives of the Saints*. Some of Father Thurston's earlier work had been more controversial: notably his critical views as to the historical origins of the

Rosary. Here Father Crehan prints a very moving and edifying letter from Fra Getino, a Spanish Dominican priest who defended the traditional views, but with a charity and generosity that makes his letter a pleasure to read. There were more vigorous polemics with Dr. G. G. Coulton, over whom Father Thurston scored a memorable victory two years before his own death, when he was just eighty years old. And there are other sharp passages with Catholics who did not like Father Thurston's judgment of Lord Acton; or with Arthur Conan Doyle, who had become in later life a champion of Spiritualism. Set against these controversial writings are the more positive (and more numerous) articles in which Father Thurston made permanent contributions to the history of the Church's liturgy, more particularly in England. The few letters here published, which passed between him and Edmund Bishop, are of special interest for all who are conscious of what these liturgical studies have done to bring new life to Catholic thought and piety.

A special chapter is given to the discussion of Father Thurston's friendship with Father Tyrrell, who had been his fellow-student of theology at St. Beuno's and who was for some years his fellow-contributor to the *Month*. By bad luck, the letters which Thurston wrote to Tyrrell before and after Tyrrell's break with all authority in 1906–7 have been destroyed, either by Tyrrell himself or by Miss Petre. Thurston kept Tyrrell's letters faithfully, and from this one-sided correspondence we get a glimpse, though not a wholly satisfying view, of a friendship which passed through a long period of strain and ended in disaster. Father Thurston, here as in so much else, was a very faithful friend who was not afraid to speak his mind freely. He failed to hold Tyrrell back, or to convince him of his fatal errors. But he was a friend worth having, in this or in any crisis.

AUBREY GWYNN

CLASSICS OF THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE

THE SPIRITUAL ESPOUSALS. By Blessed Jan van Ruysbroek. Translated by Eric Colledge. London: Faber and Faber. 1952. 18s.

A SERIES of works under the caption: "Classics of the Contemplative Life" is being published under the general editorship of Professor E. Allison Peers, which is in itself a guarantee of their value, and of the competency of the team work. The most recent addition is Ruysbroek's "Spiritual Espousals." In a thoughtful Introduction, Mr. Colledge gives us all the information that can be gleaned of Ruysbroek's life, and of the religious atmosphere of the Low Countries, with its reaction on the monasteries of the period, the fourteenth century. It was the age of the Begards, and of the notorious Bloemardine, whose doctrines Ruysbroek had in mind in his effort to state the pure doctrine.

Mr. Colledge points out the cause of the mist of heresy attached to Ruysbroek's writings in certain quarters, notably in Gerson's vigorous attack on them, due to misunderstandings to which Jordaens' Latin translation gave rise.

Ruysbroek's Beatification vindicates him from any taint of heresy, but it does not dispel the mist. In his translation, Mr. Colledge thinks that an adherence to a primitive style best represents the author: "When Ruysbroek is quaint, it is not for the sake of quaintness but of clarity, that I have sought to convey his clarity, and his manner only second. (P. 32).

The quaintness certainly appears, but we think that any one looking for clarity in Ruysbroek, either in the original Dutch or in the translation, is out "to search

Jerusalem with candles." The Abbé Pourrat in his *Christian Spirituality* correctly sums up the position thus: "In his works he expounded a very abstract doctrine, at times most difficult to understand. He prefers to deal with the most obscure points of mystical theology, and treats them in a very personal way. He also at times bewilders his readers and has placed his own orthodoxy in doubt." (II. 226).

On p. 34, Mr. Colledge says: "They—(i.e. the figures used)—are informed by his vision and knowledge of the greatest paradox of all, the vision of God which is more perceptible and comprehensible than anything to which feeling and reason can attain." The idea of this vision should be, we think, the key, if key can be found, to unlock the obscurities of Ruysbroek. He admits, with St. Augustine, Richard of St. Victor, and St. Thomas, that the summit of contemplation—and it is a question of this life—is to be found in an intuition of the divine essence. In intensity this intuition is very imperfect, but it is nevertheless real. The way in which he develops his doctrine can only be explained by reference to this fundamental thought of the goal in view: for instance, such statements as "Here reason and all created light fail as the spirit advances, for the Divine clarity, hovering above, which is engendered by the touching, when it encounters them, dispels all created images, because it is unfathomable"; and ,' So whenever the good man is able to find any distraction a mean or to imagine any exercise of virtue so as to lead him to this naked ingoing, as he desires, he is impeded in this same manner; for this manner is a passing over of all things into an emptiness". (Pp. 139 and 163). Mr. Colledge believes that "from the schools he brought away a deep love of logic." We find it hard to assent. His obscurity, on the contrary, is increased by his want of logical precision in his use of terms, which require accurate definition. He must, however, rank among the great mystics; and students will be grateful for Mr. Colledge's work.

GEORGE BYRNE

THE ASCENT OF MOUNT SION. By Bernardino de Laredo. Translated, with introduction and notes, by E. Allison Peers. London: Faber and Faber. 1951. 21s.

THIS book, now for the first time translated into English, played a decisive part in the career of St. Teresa, and for that reason will have a special appeal to all who love the great foundress. In her autobiography she tells of the spiritual crisis in which she found herself when, as a matured woman of forty, after twenty years of ordinary prayer, discursive and vocal, she began to find herself in a way of prayer which puzzled and terrified her. In this prayer she was certain that she was being drawn closer to God; yet she found that her intellect was dormant, that she did not seem to have any definite thoughts. She began to fear that she was being deceived by the devil and seriously thought of abandoning prayer. But, on the other hand, she could not deny that she found that her soul was growing in the love of God, and in detachment from creatures. "I was like a person," she said, "in the midst of a river who, in whatever direction he may turn, fears a still greater danger." Her whole career with all that hinged on it was at stake.

It was at this moment that she came across *The Ascent of Mount Sion*, which gave her light and courage. She saw that she was not alone in that strange region; that the prayer she found so disturbing was not a deception, but a true form of prayer, was a definite stage in the contemplative life. After that she did not look back.

The Ascent of Mount Sion was written by Bernardino de Laredo, a distinguished Spanish physician, who had entered the Franciscans as a lay brother. The book, which was published at Seville in 1533, dealt with the three traditional stages of

the spiritual life, the purgative, the illuminative and the unitive. It was the third part which helped St. Teresa, and which Professor Allison Peers has now translated. It deals with a contemplation which is " pure, simple and quiet," and which is an exercise of love. The book may be considered as a forerunner, an anticipation of the writings of St. Teresa and St. John of the Cross ; but its doctrine is much vaguer, much less firmly grasped, much less systematic and methodical than that of the masters who completed it.

The work of editing is done with that competence one expects from Professor Allison Peers. The introduction of nearly fifty pages could not be bettered ; it gives just the information which one needs as to the author and his work. The translation is free and idiomatic, yet has a certain individual flavour. The book appears in a series, " *Classics of the Contemplative Life,*" edited by Professor Allison Peers, who considers that on its own merits it is worthy of a high place in the second rank of mystical classics. But, for most readers, its first claim to attention is that it brought light and courage to St. Teresa in a dark moment, and that it is one of the tributaries of a great river of the mystical life.

HUGH KELLY

GERMAN STUDIES

UNGLEICHE WELTEN. By Hans Carossa. Im Inselverlag, Weisbaden. 1951. DM 12.50.

HANS Carossa whose seventieth birthday was celebrated in 1948 by the presentation, through his publishers, of a memorial volume of verse and prose contributed by thirty-three distinguished writers as well as by the conferring on him of the honorary degree of Doctor of Literature of the University of Munich is, perhaps, the outstanding poet and prose writer of twentieth century Germany still living. A somewhat younger contemporary and a friend of such great artists as Rainer M. Rilke, Hugo von Hofmansthal and Stefan George, it has been his lot to outlive them. Attaining the ripe age of the psalmist, he still exercises by a pen, so revelatory of a personality, the same magical influence on his readers as heretofore.

Readers of STUDIES may perhaps remember in the March 1946 issue an article on the late Father Rupert Mayer, S.J. of Munich in which the name of Dr. Hans Carossa was writ large. It was from the one of his six series of memoirs called *Führung und Geleit* (*Guides and Companions*) that the writer of the article took the character-sketch of the priest-field chaplain and hero of World War I—translating as best she could what is a masterpiece of tact and discretion as well as of penetrating analysis. It is written in a German prose of the peculiarly rich and yet crystalline quality which readers of Carossa have by now come to look forward to with delight. Not all of that quality survives the process of translation, however lovingly the task is undertaken. Enough, however, may come through to convey some idea of the delicacy of his art and of the purity of the artist's application of means to end.

Such art was still Carossa's in 1942 in a further instalment of memoirs : *Das Jahr der Schönen Täuschungen* (*The Year of Fair Illusions*) and it has survived the long-drawn out agony of the Third Reich for the book under review *Ungleiche Welten* (*Disparate Worlds*) was written in the years 1945–1948. With its content of high tragedy, not lacking either catharsis or conciliatory close, and conveyed in a medium that is an abiding joy, it will not disappoint its many readers.

Ungleiche Welten falls into two parts. The first and by far the larger is the *Lebensbericht* or record of the author's experiences from 1933–1945. The second is a short story of some eighty pages: *Ein Tag im Spätsommer*, 1947 (*A Day in Late Summer*, 1947) in which Carossa is revealed in a characteristic mood of release from the stern duty of recording the apocalyptic and entering into judgment with himself as well as with his country and its then rulers. The short story is a typical Carossa sublimation of post-war Bavarian experience, the poet welding the temporal and the eternal in a ring of enduring art, showing himself, if that were still necessary, more than ever worthy of the Gottfried Keller prize which his Swiss admirers bestowed on him some two decades ago. The Report on the German world with which Hans Carossa found himself compelled to reckon in the bitter years between 1933 and 1945 and which differed so sharply from his own inner vision is made with all discretion but, in its expository paragraphs, with a decisiveness and a desire to convince which we do not usually associate with his style. And yet we feel that this profoundly interesting recital has been fed by all the streams of its author's manifold experiences—as child, boy and man in his Bavarian countryside so steeped in antique Roman and Christian Catholic culture; as doctor-diagnostician at home and on two fronts in World War I; as lecturer inside and outside the Reich; not least as image-making poet. His situation in the Reich was problematic; tragically so, however far removed the tragic may seem to be from this retired doctor and quiet field-man; good neighbour and helful friend; a Goethean, exorcising, by his art, the daemonic. He finds himself compelled, nevertheless, to co-operate even if only in the cultural sphere, with a regime which had been accepted with noisy enthusiasm by the classes as well as by the masses in the Empire but which he fears and suspects to be evil. How he grappled with that problem; his estimate of the character of the forces of Disorder arrayed against his visioned World Order; his encounters with his contemporaries—some of the regime itself, some its near victims; his clearsighted judgment of himself in the inescapable moments of decision—all these and much else are the stuff of this *Lebensbericht*. Whilst I do not agree with some of the Goethean remedies for twentieth century disorders in the social sphere, I have read, I hope, with understanding born of a long study of Hans Carossa and his Germany, this remarkable book, the humanity of which is not the least of its many attractions. I lay it out of my hands with affectionate sympathy for its author as well as with gratitude for one more pleasure enjoyed. Hans Carossa's book of two worlds is good; that is nothing new for him to hear! It should be translated into many languages. It has lessons for us all—Germans and non-Germans alike.

The book of three hundred and fifty pages issues from a Press associated with the name of Carossa since 1909 and whose sign of the ship is a guarantee not only of the fine quality of the writer but also of the good craft of the printers to whom German poets and the German public are so much indebted.

MARY M. MACKEN.

WIENER STUDIEN. ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR KLASSISCHE PHILOLOGIE. Volumes 57–64 (1939–1949). Ed. by Johannes Mewaldt (1939–42), by Karl Mras (1947 ff.). Vienna: Oskar Höfels' Witwe.

THROUGH the good services of Professor Karl Mras and Dr. Ludmilla Krestan I recently received the volumes of *Wiener Studien* that were published since the outbreak of the war.

For two generations, *Wiener Studien* has been Austria's leading classical journal, the normal organ of publication in this field for the professors and graduates of the

Austrian universities. Many a young scholar has served his apprenticeship as a writer under the benevolent eyes of Edmund Hauler, who for more than forty years was its editor-in-chief. When, after the first world war, most students found publication of their theses beyond their means, the editors of *Wiener Studien* generously opened their journal to *résumés* of theses in essay form. Thus *Wiener Studien* came to be a faithful record of Austrian classical studies on all levels.

The volumes under review—there was a gap in publication from 1943 to 1947—show the Viennese tradition vigorously alive. At the Austrian universities classical studies, overshadowed as they were by the Vienna *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, had always been pursued in a liberal spirit; there was, and still is, particular interest attached to late and Christian Latin. Recent volumes contain studies on Minucius Felix (Prinz), Theodore of Mopsuestia (Bulhart), Tiberianus and Rutilius Namatianus (Schuster), Anthimus (Mras). Edmund Hauler until his death in 1941 regularly contributed his Frontoniana—preparatory work to a new critical edition of Fronto's correspondence, which, unfortunately, he did not live to finish. (A bibliography of Hauler's work is found in Vols. 57 and 59).

The 1939 volume contains five major articles on ancient politics and political theory: on the bilingual culture of Augustus' empire in its political and literary aspect, by Johannes Mewaldt (thoughtful and very readable); on the crisis of the Athenian state as depicted by Thucydides (H. Hunger); on the comparative valuation of various forms of government in antiquity (K. Glaser); on the *rector* of Cicero's *De re publica* (Richard Meister)—a careful study of Cicero's *princeps* in relation to the principate of Augustus; and on the philosophy of history in Virgil's Aeneid (K. Nawratil). Although the choice of subject was probably dictated by the political events of that year, the treatment is strictly scholarly—except for Hunger, who introduces into the discussion of Thucydides such catch-words as *Führerpersönlichkeit* and *Entordnung*. Even in the war issues there is hardly anything that savours of Nazi ideology.

Ludwig Radermacher, now in his eighty-fifth year, continues to bring his masterful interpretation to bear on such diverse subjects as Andocides, Aristotle, Menippus, Rhetorica (by-products of his recent edition of the fragments of pre-Aristotelean *Artes rhetoricae*), the Pseudo-Herodotean *Vita Homeri*, and ancient metrical theory. Adolf Wilhelm gives many a proof of his unique knowledge of Greek epigraphics and of the Greek language of all periods; his recent death has left a gap that will be hard to fill. Let me also mention F. Stoessl's interpretation of Catullus' *basia* poems, H. Gerstinger's study of Nonnus, R. Hanslik's prosopographical remarks on the Ostia *Fasti* (Flavian period), and G. Herzog-Hauser's intelligent discussion of the *imitatio* problem in Roman literature. Special mention must be made of two articles by Professor Mras—one on the *prolaliai* ('curtain-raisers' to the rhetorical performances of the neo-sophists), the other on the chronology of assibilation and palatalisation in late Latin. Even this random selection will, I hope, give some idea of the wide range of topics to which these volumes of *Wiener Studien* have been devoted.

The continued publication of this and other learned journals in Austria and other central European countries is becoming increasingly difficult. All those who appreciate the contributions to learning which these countries have always made and are making now under the most trying conditions hope sincerely that these difficulties may soon be overcome. The best way of showing our appreciation is active support—of which *Wiener Studien* is greatly deserving.

LUDWIG BIELER

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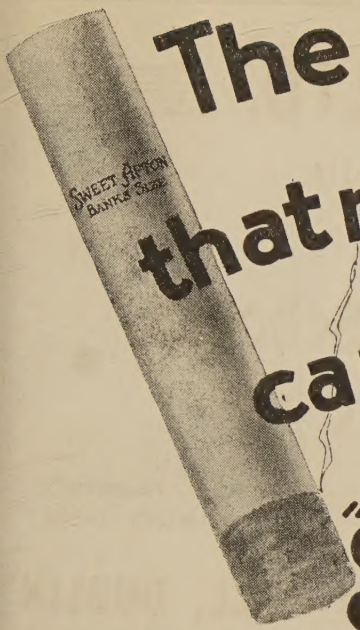

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